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**Social and Economic History
of the Panjab
(1849-1901)**

by

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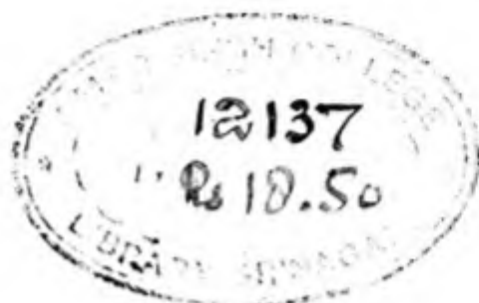


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To
DR. HARI RAM GUPTA

*For his services to the Panjab History,
which are of inestimable value.*

*And for his guidance and supervision,
in this work.*

A TESTIMONIAL

This is to certify that Dr. G.S. Chhabra, worked under my guidance and supervision on a thesis entitled "Social and Economic History of the Panjab (1849—1901)". This thesis was accepted and he was awarded the degree of Ph. D.

One of his examiners remarked :

"The thesis contains useful material on religious developments and educational policy. The most valuable chapters are those dealing with industrial and agricultural changes, the financial and revenue system. I was particularly interested in the part relating to the external trade of the province. The bibliography is adequate and detailed.

The second examiner stated :

"Such an elaborate work on the history of the Panjab was indeed needed in the interest of National History and its present day developments—it is good that such a one has come forth.

The author has in these later pages, discussed many important topics, which form a solid original contribution upon which I base my award. The custom of infanticide and its horrid effects are exhaustively treated ; linguistic particularities contained in the sayings of local partancee are well brought out. Remarks and criticisms quoted from contemporary local newspapers are of inestimable value. The subjects of prostitution and the statistics of women in general are ably discussed. Similarly the question of marriage and the various customs prevailing thereon are treated in a manner, which in my opinion, can afford some guidance in the present day attempt for establishing a socialistic pattern of society.

But of all the work as a whole the best chapter appears to me to be that which treats of the canals of that land, a special feature of the Panjab, which, for long ages, has attracted the attention of the various rulers."

Hari Ram Gupta,
M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.,
Professor and Head of the
History Department,
Panjab University,
Chandigarh.

INTRODUCTION

The Panjab, the land of five rivers, has been, from pre-historic times, the seat of a high civilization. It was here that the first Aryan settlers chanted hymns of the Rigveda. In subsequent ages it formed a chief centre of the Hindu power and civilization and later that of the Muslim when it passed under their sway. In modern times it saw the foundation of the finest Sikh kingdom. Before it was annexed to the British empire in India in 1849, various travellers in their accounts had already hinted at the great political and economic potentialities of the land of the five rivers. But not being content with the second-hand account, the secret section of the Foreign Department of the British Government was anxious to conduct investigations for itself. For it was declared in a secret note by the Government of India in 1847 that the "correct estimate of the resources of the Panjab involves consideration of great interest and importance to the Government of India¹". And when all the enquiries had been made and information collected, British officers agreed in saying that "capacities of the Punjab are unquestionable and might be turned to better account than the discovery of the richest mines. There are springs of wealth at our feet, which require but well directed skill to bring them to the light of the day."

With its thirsty plains, unutilized rivers, and willing manly population, the Panjab indeed was a country with great natural resources awaiting development. And when it was actually annexed to the British empire in India, Lord Dalhousie, while entrusting the Government of Panjab to the Board of Administration, was anxious enough to direct that every effort should be made to develop its resources and foster trade when he expressed himself in the following terms²:

"By prosecuting these projects of employment and directing the energies of the people to new sources of interest and excitement we may gradually wean them from those schemes of agitation and violence which the inveteracy of habits and the prestige of long and uninterrupted success under Mahrajah Ranjit Singh have hitherto encouraged, and it may be our happiness before long to see our efforts crowned with the conversion of a martial and hostile population into industrious subjects cultivating the arts of peace and civilization."

1. Foreign, Secret, 1849, Misc., vol. 35, Cons. 31 December, No. 326.

2. See Chapter XI.

An effort has been made in this thesis to see how far the above directions of Lord Dalhousie were actually carried during this period of 52 years—from 1849 to 1901.

Before understanding the plan of the thesis, it is essential to keep in mind that changes do not take place so easily in the social life of a country as on its economic side. The main departments of the economic life are agriculture, industry, commerce and finance ; whereas the study of the social life of a people has essentially to deal with their dwellings, dress, and food, their religious beliefs and with their behaviour in the family and in society. Obviously, the subjects under the latter are not so dynamic as those under the former. The period of 52 years may bring about a revolution in the entire economic structure of a nation, but it is too short for the social life to make a history of it. Particularly so in the case of the peoples whose social beliefs and habits are so deeply bound with religious compulsions and constraints that a slightest deviation from them may bring a wrath from some "unknown powers" in the heaven. And the Panjab, in the 19th century, was actually a country where religion of the people had a greater power in the conduct of their social beliefs and thoughts than any sense of right and wrong could be expected to have. The newly educated trader, the Government clerk or a lawyer in the town might have changed his social habits under the Western influence, but this could not be so with the poor and illiterate agriculturist in whose house, as a matter of fact, the heart of the country throbbed.

The plan of the thesis, therefore, is one of a purely economic history of the country, with the study of the social life of the people so far as it hinders or promotes its economic development but with far greater details of the social life than are actually necessary, so that it can easily be called social and economic history, instead of only an economic history.

In the first chapter, thus, an attempt has been made to collect all the essential information regarding the physical factors and the natural resources of the country which affected its economic development. This is followed by four chapters all under the heading 'People, their Life and their Manners', which deal with the social factors that influenced the economic development. In these chapters, a study has been made, first, of the character of the population, its distribution and density etc. Secondly, some interesting facts are collected regarding the village communities (a special feature of the Panjab), dwellings of the people, their costumes, food and amusements. The study under the heading 'Amusements', of the different games played by children in the Panjab will be

found especially interesting. Next, an account is given of certain social habits of the people, like infanticide, followed by a description of the status of women, the marriage system and the allied subjects. Lastly, the actual religious beliefs of the people and the caste-system in the Panjab have been sketched. The social part of the thesis is concluded with a short account at the end of the chapter of religious beliefs, of the various movements which took place in the Panjab basically to bring about a reformation in the social life and a separate chapter giving a critical account of the development of education in the Panjab.

The chapter on education is followed by a more detailed account of the outstanding developments in each of the main departments of economic life—agriculture, industry, commerce and finance. Then follows an attempt to estimate the affect of all those changes and developments on the prosperity of the people. An attempt has been made in this chapter to see how far the ambition of Lord Dalhousie, as quoted above, was realized, and if it was not realized then who was responsible for the failure : the Government, the People or both.

The Panjab being predominantly an agricultural country (see chapter II), the economic development of the great mass of the peasantry is allowed to have a full say in the plan of the thesis. Thus, whereas the year 1849 was selected as a starting point for obvious reasons—it being the year when the Panjab was annexed to the British empire in India—the year 1901 was chosen as a point of termination of our enquiries, because it was in that year that the *Panjab Alienation of Land Act* was passed which was bound to affect closely the life of the peasants in this province. This is no place to discuss the significance of this Act. Suffice it to say that the year 1901 with this Act is a land-mark in the economic history of the Panjab¹.

Many books are available on the economic development of different countries. But the number of books on the social history is not large, while books dealing with both the subjects together are very rare. In fact, inspite of all efforts, the author has not been able to find any such book dealing with both the subjects together. Where the title of a book evoked an element of hope, its actual reading gave discouragement. It will not be hyperbolism to say, therefore, that this is a rare example of a thesis of its type.

The thesis may prove important for yet another reason. While in the recent years some very able researches have been made in the political history of the Panjab, hardly has any attention been paid to its

1. See Moral and Material Progress Report, 1906, p. 152.

social and economic aspects ; which latter is perhaps more important than the former, especially for the modern planners who are from among the people and not from among the kings and who are working for the people more as their servants than as their rulers. In fact, it would just be proper to say that in the modern democratic age, the history of the kings and their glory is a thing of the past, whereas the history of the people and their achievements can guide us in our actions today and tomorrow. And it is with this view in mind that this thesis has been written.

Though no perfection is claimed, every effort has been made to make the collection of the information and its arrangement in the thesis as scientific as possible. And in this connection, it may be added that the writer owes a heavy debt of gratitude to his worthy teacher, Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, who not only suggested the topic but also guided him throughout his efforts. It will not, in fact, be out of place here to say that the untiring and inexhaustible energy and selfless devotion with which Dr. Gupta is himself exploring and directing about one score of his pupils to explore, the hidden and yet untouched records concerning the different aspects of the History of the Panjab from earliest time to the present days, is bound to guide historians and administrators for years to come.

Every effort has been made to collect the facts for this thesis with strict impartiality. Most of the contemporary writers being Englishmen, there is no doubt that some of their works smack of exaggeration of evils and drawbacks in the social and religious habits of the people. Wherever such an exaggeration was noticed, it was excluded ; yet no favour has been shown to the people and, where facts so command no attempt has been made to withhold an information even if it may actually injure the feelings of the people concerned.

All the facts collected in the thesis are from contemporary original sources. Although all secondary works concerning the subject have been studied, none of them has been allowed to influence the views in the thesis unduly. At the same time no effort has been spared in consulting all the original sources as thoroughly as possible and necessary. The subject of the thesis being very wide, the records of almost all the Ministries—Home, Foreign, Education etc. have been thoroughly consulted; all departmental reports, like Revenue Administration Reports and Education Reports, have been fully made use of ; contemporary journals have been studied; the works of all contemporary writers and travellers, dealing with the subject, have been consulted ; and an extensive use has been

made of the press opinion in the Panjab to make the account as balanced and authentic as possible.

In the last, it may be added, every effort has been made to make the statistical information as complete as possible. But unfortunately, it must be mentioned, not much datum is forthcoming for the years prior to the seventies of the 19th century and wherever they are available, they are not always reliable, the reason being that the administrative machinery before that was not fully organised. In fact, the most reliable statistical data are available only after the year 1881, when the first census was taken in the Panjab.

Dated : October 13, 1962.

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DELHI--6.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.R. Administration Report (Panjab).
D.G. District Gazetteer (Panjab).
E.L.T.R. External Land Trade Report (Panjab).
F.F.I. Federal Finance in India—P.J. Thomas.
F.P.W.I. Finance and Public Works in India—Sir John Strachey etc.
I.G.I. Imperial Gazetteer of India.
I.G.I.P. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Panjab.
L.A.M. Land Administration Manual—Douie.
L.S.B.I. Land System of British India—Powell, Baden.
M.M. Musalman and Moneylenders—Thorburn
N.P.R. Native Papers Report.
P.N.Q. Punjab Notes and Queries.
P.P.P.D. Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt—Darling.
P.P.W. Punjab in Peace and War—Thorburn.
P.R. in reply to I.I.F.C.—Punjab Report in reply to Inquiry Issued
by Famine Commission.
R.A.R. Revenue Administration Report (Panjab).
R.E.A. Report on Excise Administration (Panjab).
R.E. Report on Education (Panjab).
R.I.A. Report on Income-tax Administration (Panjab).
R.M.S. R. Maconachie—Selected Agricultural Proverbs of Panjab.
R.R.A. Report on Revenue Administration (Punjab).
S.M. Settlement Manual—Douie.
S.R. Settlement Report.
W.W.P. Wealth and Welfare of Punjab—Calvert.

The Resources of The Panjab

(1)

PHYSICAL FACTORS

THE fundamental influence of physical factors on the social and economic life of a country need not be laboured. It is obvious that they are the prime determinants of the products of a country, the occupations of the people, and the density and distribution of the population.

The Panjab with which this thesis deals comprised the following territories :—

(1) The Jullundur Doab and the hill district of Kangra, which were ceded to the British Government by the treaty of Lahore concluded in March 1846, after the termination of the first Sikh War.

(2) The Panjab west of the river Bias, annexed in March 1849, on the close of the Second Sikh War.

(3) The country east of the river Sutlej, formerly designated the cis-Sutlej States and including (a) the possessions of Maharaja Dalip Singh of Lahore on the left bank of the Sutlej, which were annexed to the British territories in December 1845 ; (b) such of the States taken under the protection of the British Government in 1808—9, as subsequently lapsed on the death of Chiefs without heirs, or were confiscated and brought under British administration in January 1847, in consequence of the misconduct of their Chiefs in the Sikh War ; and (c) the hill district of Simla, a portion of which was acquired after the Gurkha War of 1814—16 and the remainder subsequently obtained by lapse or exchange for other territories.

(4) The Delhi Territory west of the river Jamna, which was transferred from the Government of the North-Western Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) to that of the Panjab in 1858, and separated into the two Divisions of Delhi and Hissar¹.

During the Census of 1891, the territories of the feudatory States of Rawain and Dhadhi in the Simla Hills, which had during the Census of 1881 been included in the Simla Hill States, were enumerated as part of the British District of Simla, but during the Census of 1901, these States having been declared feudateries of Jubbal, were again included

1. A. R., 1871—72, p. 7.

in the Simla Hill States. As in 1891 so in 1901, certain Biloch tribes on the Dera Ghazi Khan border under the political control of the Panjab Government were enumerated. The Kurram Valley came under British Administration in 1893. The Shiranni country, on the border of Dera Ismail Khan, which had been virtually under the political control of the British Government since annexation, was also enumerated in 1901 as a part of the British territory¹.

The Panjab² thus constituted together with its Feudatory States, almost all of which were subject more or less, to control by the Local Government, covered an area of 135, 596 miles and was in a very special sense the frontier province of India, and guarded the gateway of that Empire, of which it was almost the last portion to be won. Stretching northwards up to and beyond the great peaks of the central Himalayas, and embracing the Tibetan valleys of Lahul and Spiti, it included in its eastern districts a portion of Hindustan, on its southern border it encroached upon the great prairies of Rajputana, while its trans-Indus territory belonged to Afghanistan and Biluchistan rather than to India in every respect other than political. And the diversity which marked its physical and geographical aspects was no less characteristic of the races which inhabited it, of their origin, language, beliefs, customs and social structure.

The Panjab could be divided, in accordance with its physical features, into four great natural divisions. The Himalaya region and the corner cut off by the Salt Range were special tracts distinct in all their characteristics from the plain country of the province. This last excluding the submontane zone, which connected it with the hill regions to its north, was divided by a meridian passing through Lahore into two very dissimilar tracts which may be called respectively the Eastern and the Western plains; and one of the most striking features of the Province was the strong contrast which these two tracts presented, whether from a physiological or from an ethnographical point of view, and the comparative suddenness with which the transition took place as the intangible line which separated the one from the other was crossed.

1. Census 1901, p. 4.

2. Most of the following information regarding the 'River System' 'Rainfall', 'Temperature and Climate,' have been taken from Foreign Miscellaneous, vol. No. 206. (A Geographical Sketch of the Panjab and a story of the origin, life and progress of Raja Ranjit); A. R. 1882—83; A. R. 1892—93; A. R. 1901—1902; I. G. I., vol. XX, 245—259; A Glossary of The Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provinces. Also see The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir—Sir James Douie, 1916, pp. 64—70.

The Sketch Map of Panjab Showing Different Districts and the Four Natural Divisions of 1901.

I. Indo-Gangetic Plain, West II. Himalayan Area. III. Sub-Himalayan Area.
IV. North-West Dry Area.



The geographical position of a country always plays an important part in the development of its economic potentialities but in this respect, the Province was hardly lucky enough. It was in fact a densely populated peninsula thrust north-west-ward into a very sparsely populated area. On the north lay Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet and beyond these again the deserts of Turkistan. On the west were Afghanistan and Baluchistan and beyond these Persia. On the south lay Bikaner and Rajputana, comparatively sparsely populated and undeveloped. All these countries did not have the number of consumers required to make them valuable markets for the Panjab produce. The United Provinces (now Uttar Pardesh) on the east was so similar in soil, climate and people that it competed with the Panjab for customers. Nor did the Province have any direct access to sea¹.

The Soil. Second only in importance to the geographical position in its effect upon the economic potentialities of the Panjab was the fact that the major portion of the province contained a deep alluvial soil². Excluding the Himalayan and other hill tracts and the ravines of Rawalpindi, Attock, and Jhelum Districts, the vast alluvial plain was broken only by the wide valleys of its rivers. Stones were unknown in the plains, save at the immediate foot of the hills, micaceous river-sand was to be found everywhere at varying depths; and the only mineral was nodular accretions of lime-stone (kankar) which were produced in situ. The soil was a singularly uniform loam, true clay was almost unknown; and the quality was determined chiefly by the greater or smaller proportion of sand present. In the local hollows and drainage lines the constant deposit of argillaceous particles had produced a stiff tenacious soil, singularly adapted to rice cultivation; while in the beds of the great rivers, and the wind-fretted water-sheds, pure sand was commonly found. The great *thal* which lay between the Jhelum-Chenab and the Indus, bordered on the south by the Rajputana desert and on either side by the two largest of our rivers, consisted of a series of rolling sand-hills formed by the wind, which ran parallel to the great break-water of the Salt Range and were separated by valleys in which the original surface was exposed. In parts, and sepecially where local conditions raised the level of the water-table, the salts natural to the soil had been concentrated on the surface by continuous evaporation, and had covered the ground with saline efflorescence known as reh often for miles together which was fatal to vegetable

1. W. W. P., Calvert, 52.

2. Ibid, 63.

life¹. And although it was beyond doubt that an extension or further deterioration of these areas was the result of excessive irrigation, there was also evidence that such lands were not always unsuitable for irrigation and that they were in some cases improved or reclaimed by it². Where neither reh nor sand was present, the soil was uniformly fertile if only the rainfall was sufficient or means of irrigation were available. Throughout the greater part of the western plains of the Panjab, however, neither of these conditions was satisfied, and wide steppes of bars, were useful only as grazing grounds for camels and cattle. The soils of the Himalayan and lower ranges resembled those of the plains, but both sand and clay were rare, and the stony area was considerable³.

Alluvial soil possesses great fertility. It requires very little artificial drainage, unless its natural condition has been altered by excessive irrigation and it requires the expenditure of very little capital to bring it under cultivation and to maintain its crop-bearing capacity. In these respects, the people of the Punjab were far more fortunate than agriculturists in many other countries⁴.

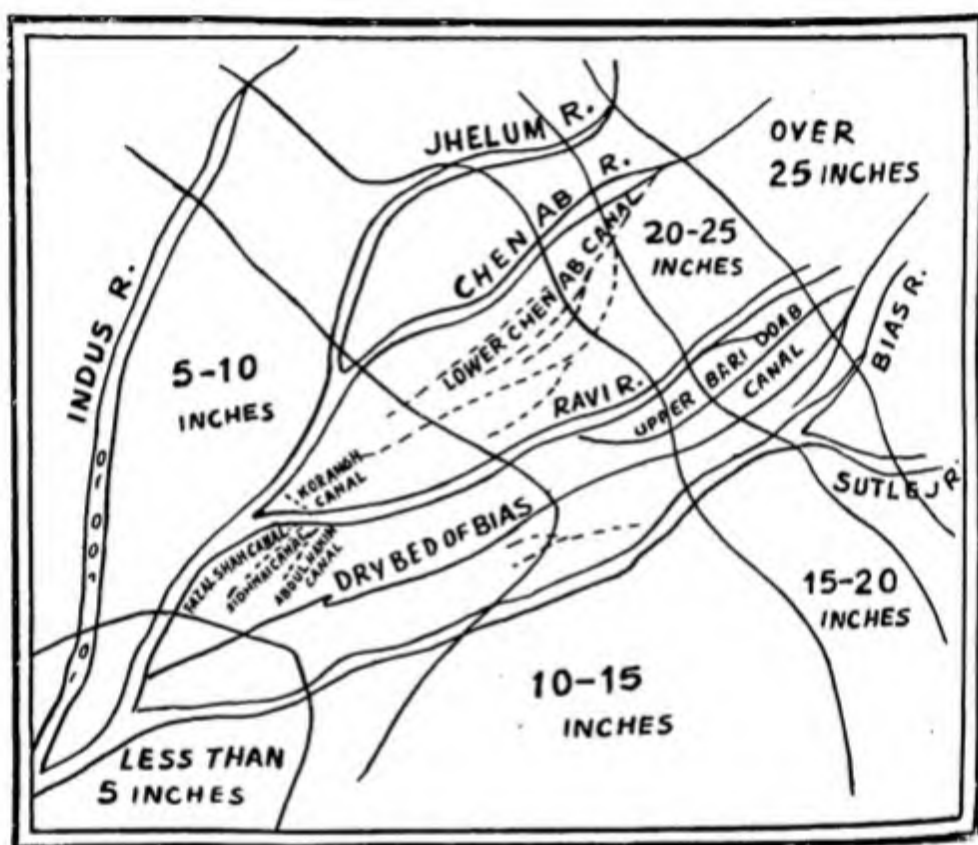
The River System. The Himalayas which stretched from Northern Panjab and Kashmir far away into Tibet, gave birth to seven great rivers. The Jumna along with its tributary formed the eastern boundary of the province and Indus ran along its western frontier. Between these two rivers ran the five rivers Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum. These rivers, after pursuing their courses for, in some cases, many hundreds of miles among snow-clad mountain-ranges, debouched on to the plain country and traversed the Panjab in a generally southernly direction on their way to the ocean. The hills once fairly left behind, their fall seldom exceeded two feet in the mile, and their course was in consequence inconstant, varying, often considerably, from year to year. Thus in the course of time each stream had cut for itself a wide riverain lying well below

1. A. R. 1892—93, p. 8 ; I. G. I. P., vol. i, 57.

2. Report on the Indian Irrigation Commission—1901—03, Part II. Provincial, 1903, p. 1. See also—Parliamentary Papers, Commons—Accounts and Papers, Famine Commission, vol. LXXXI, Part II, 1888, p. 185. It was reported that over-cropping had also deteriorated the soil at certain places. Over-cropping was common at the first introduction of canal-irrigation in tracts where it had not before existed. The soil in such cases deteriorated and this deterioration was mainly of the nature of exhaustion, and was not progressive after a certain point had been reached. Arrived at that point the land continued to yield fair and assured crops. The deterioration occurred principally on clay soils.

3. A. R. 1892—93, p. 8 ; I. G. P. vol. i, 57.

4. W. W. P.—H. Calvert, 1922, p. 63—65 ; Local names and classifications of the soil are nicely discussed by Mr. Powell in his book—Hand Book of Economic Products in the Panjab, 197—203.



Sketch Map of Panjab
Showing Rainfall Contours.

the level of the surrounding plains, the banks of which marked on either side the extreme limits of the river's excursions. Within these low lands, over the whole of which the stream had some time or other flowed, the river wound its way in a narrow and over-shifting channel. In the winter the stream was comparatively small; but as the mountain snows melted with the approach of the Indian summer, the waters rose and overflowed the surrounding country, often to a distance of several miles on either bank. As the cold returned at the close of the rainy season, the water receded, leaving wide expanses of fertile loam or less fertile sand, moist for the hand of the cultivator.

Rainfall. The Panjab enjoyed two well-marked seasons of rainfall. The monsoon season, which brought it by far the greater portion of its annual supply, lasted from the middle of June to the middle or end of September and upon it depended the autumn crops and spring sowings, and the winter rains, which fell early in January, though sometimes insignificant in amount, affected very materially the prospects of the spring harvest.

Rain in Chait (March) was not liked as the couplet says :—

'Barse Chait na ghar na khet.' [Rain in Chait, neither house nor crop]

Rain falling in *Baisakh*, *Jeth*, or the first half of *Har* (April, May or early in June) was injurious; but for the last half of *Har* (June) it was good, and the land became "water", or soft for the plough. After this, moderate rains in *Sawan* (August and part of July) were good, and also in *Bhadon* (August, September). There was an amusing couplet well-known to agriculturists :—

*"Je minh peya Diwali,
Jeha phus, jeha hali."*

(If showers fall about the time of Diwali festival it matters little whether you are a layman (lit. a bundle of sticks) or a real ploughman the crops are sure to be equally fine).

If in *Assuh* (October) rainfall continued with cold winds, the pluse crops were injured. Rain falling after these crops had ripened. *i.e.*, after 15th *Kartak*, was bad, as it would be so late as to throw back the wheat sowings. Rain in *Maghar* (October and November) injured the ripe "Kharif" but helped the "rabi" crops. Rain, except slight showers, in *Phagan* was bad; it produced the red blight called "*Kungi*", and also rats¹.

1. Powell, vol. 1, pp. 205—206; Maconachie, R., (Selected Agr. Proverbs) 1890, pp. 27—31.

The rainfall was necessarily heavier in the Himalays than in any other portion of the Province, the vapour laden air from the south-east and south precipitating its water as it rose to the top of the great barrier which it found across its path. The highest average of the province was the 120-30 inches enjoyed by Dharamsala, and the figures probably nowhere fell below 45 inches (Abbottabad) within the Panjab Himalayas. Excepting the alpine regions, the rainfall was greatest in the east of the Province, as the Bombay monsoon was exhausted of its vapour in its passage over the great plains of Sind and Rajputana, while the western winds from Baluchistan and Afghanistan passed over an arid tract and left such moisture as they might have collected on the western slopes of the Sulaiman, so that the Panjab depended for its rain very largely upon the south-eastern winds from the Bay of Bengal.

Thus we find that in the plains area the rainfall decreased rapidly as the distance from the hills increased, and markedly also, though less rapidly, the further we went west. The submontane zone enjoyed an annual fall ranging from 30 to 35 inches, while in the strip of the country lying along the right bank of the Jumna the average lay between 25 and 30 inches. But in no other portion of the Province except in the portions of the Salt Range tract immediately under the hills were these figures approached. The great rivers had a slight local effect in increasing the amount of precipitation in their immediate neighbourhood; and that influence was of importance as the addition thus made to the total annual fall was distributed in the form of more or less periodical showers which often brought timely moisture to the crops.

Average rainfall (in inches) for twenty-five years ending with 1901 in :

Table I.

Station				Total of the year
Delhi	...	...	...	27·65
Lahore	...	...	...	20·08
Rawalpindi	...	...	...	33·90
Sialkot	...	...	...	31·46
Multan	...	...	...	7·27
Montgomery	...	...	...	9·99
Hill Station Simla	...	...	...	63·63

Temperature and Climate. Owing to its geographical position, to its scanty rainfall and cloudless skies, and perhaps to the wide expanse of untilled plains, the climate of the Panjab presented greater extremes of both heat and cold than did that of any other part of India. The extreme

heat of the summer months began to moderate about the middle of September, and from the beginning of October, though the days were still hot, the nights were fairly cool. From that time the temperature sank lower and lower, till the minimum was reached with the fall of the winter rains in the early part of January, when frosts were common, and water exposed at night with due precautions was frozen in all parts of the Province. The temperature then rose again slowly but steadily till the end of March. With April the hot weather proper began. For the next three months the Panjab acted as the exhaust-chamber of India, and created that monsoon of which it enjoyed as small a share.

Within the hills the seasons and their changes were very similar, though of course the heat was much more moderate and the cold much more severe.

Table II. Temperature in the Panjab.

Station	Height in feet of observatory above sea level	Average temperature (in degrees Fahrenheit) for twenty years ending in 1901							
		January		May		July		November	
		Mean	Diurnal range	Mean	Diurnal range	Mean	Diurnal range	Mean	Diurnal range
Delhi	718	59.0	22.3	92.6	24.1	87.7	13.6	69.8	26.4
Lahore	702	54.8	27.7	89.3	32.9	90.4	21.1	65.8	36.1
Rawalpindi	1676	50.3	24.6	82.9	29.5	87.1	21.1	60.6	33.2
Sialkot*	830	54.4	23.0	88.7	28.2	88.8	18.1	65.8	30.7
Multan	420	56.5	26.6	91.8	28.8	94.0	20.1	68.6	31.6
Montgomery†	558	55.0	26.4	92.9	29.8	94.3	21.2	68.0	33.2
Hill Station Simla‡	7224	39.4	10.1	65.8	14.8	64.8	9.1	50.6	11.0

Note :—The diurnal range is the average difference between the maximum and minimum temperature of each day.

*The figures are for twenty-four to twenty-five years.

†The figures are for twelve years only.

‡The figures are for nine to ten years only.

Commenting on the climate, soil and the rivers of the Panjab, Lieutenant-Colonel G.B. Tremenhare, Superintending Engineer of the Panjab in 1852, remarked that with them "the capabilities of the Panjab are unquestionable, and might be turned to better account than the discovery of the richest mines. There are springs of wealth at our feet, which require but well directed skill to bring them to the light of the day."¹

(2)

AGRICULTURAL AND FOREST PRODUCTS

Wheat. The principal crops in spring were wheat, gram and barley. Wheat was staple crop grown for sale. In an exhibition in 1864 twelve samples of red and sixty-two of white wheat were exhibited. Although not in any way inferior, the red wheat appeared to hold a very much lower place in the estimation of the people and it sold at a cheaper rate than the white variety. Development of canals led to a great expansion of the area under wheat. Thus whereas in 1870—71 there was 54,02,473 acres of land under this crop, its cultivation had extended to 84,85,982 acres by 1900—01. The out-turn of wheat varied from 4 to 12 cwt per acre on irrigated and from 4 to 7 cwt on unirrigated land².

Gram. Next to wheat came gram. Area under this grain fluctuated with the rainfall. Sown as a rule earlier than wheat and mainly in poorer unirrigated lands, it was generally harvested a fortnight earlier, but was not infrequently sown and harvested at the same time as wheat. The yield was about 4 to 9 cwt on unirrigated land, but could rise to 11 cwt under irrigation. Whereas in 1870—71 the total area under this crop was 10,14,098 acres, it had increased to 34,05,121³ acres in 1900—01.

Barley. Fifty-one samples, generally of good quality of barley, were exhibited in the 1864 exhibition. There were two kinds of the grain. *Hordeum hexastichon* and *Hordeum coeleste*—the last being beardless. Barley was sown mixed with wheat and gram as it matured even if the rainfall was not sufficient for wheat. It was also useful as a catch-crop, since it could be sown later than wheat. It was grown extensively for the breweries and as fodder. Whereas in 1871 barley covered 16,85,694

1. Govt. of Panjab Selection from Correspondence, vol. i, 1853, p. 200.

2. I. G. I. P. vol. i, p. 59; Powell, vol. i, p. 250.

The figures quoted in this paragraph, as in all the following ones of this chapter, have been taken from tables given in the A. Rs. for the years concerned except where otherwise quoted. Such reliable information, for the years prior to 1871 as the administrative machinery was not then fully developed, are scanty. Due care has also been taken as not to quote such figures for abnormal years, so that the various trends may be properly understood.

3. I. G. I. P., vol. i, 59.

acres of land, in 1901 there were 17,25,614 acres under this crop. On irrigated land the out-turn of barley was from 5 to 11 cwt, compared with 3 to 9 cwt on unirrigated land¹.

Maize. The staple cereals in autumn were maize, great millet (jowar), spiked millet (bajra), and rice. Of these, maize was the principal foodgrain of the montane, submontane, and central tracts, and was cultivated extensively in all the three areas. Thirty-five samples of the white, red and yellow varieties of maize or "makki" were exhibited in the 1864 exhibition and Mr. Baden Powell reported that one specimen from the hills—yellow—was remarkably good, quite equal to that produced in America. The white variety was inferior and so was the red. Maize yields were from 4 to 11 cwt on land dependent on rainfall and from 7 to 13 cwt where irrigation was available. Whereas in 1870—71 maize was sown in 9,40,449 acres of land in 1900—01 the acreage had reached the figure 14,85,782².

Spiked Millet and Great Millet. A very large number of specimens of millets were exhibited in 1864. The spiked millet was a chief crop in the Rawalpindi and Delhi Divisions; but it was also grown throughout the Province. The yield varied from 2½ to 10 cwt per acre. The great millet was grown throughout the Province. Sown only as a fodder crop, it was called "charri". The out-turn of grain was from 3 to 5 cwt per acre, increased by 1 to 2 cwt if irrigated³.

Rice. The chief varieties of rice were: rice without the husk called brinj or chawal and paddy or unhusked rice called Chhona (Panjabi), or Dhan (Hindustani). Rice was chiefly grown in Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Karnal, and Ambala districts. The acreage under rice in 1870—71 was 7,10,742 while in 1900—01 it was 7,88,987⁴.

Such cereals, together with pulses, 185 samples of which came under the notice of the jury in the exhibition of 1864 (referred to above) and the chief varieties of which were *lobiya* (*Dolichos sinensis*), *urd* and *mah* or *mash* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) *mung* (*Phascolus mung*) and *channa* (*cicerarium*), and small quantities of supplementary vegetable and garden produce formed the main diet of the rural population⁵. Potato crop was

1. Powell, vol. i, 250; I. G. I. P. vol. i, 60.

2. I. G. I. P. vol. i, 60; Powell, vol. i, 251.

3. Powell, vol. i, 251; I. G. I. P., vol. i, 60.

4. *ibid.*

5. See Powell, vol. i, 252—268. Mr. Powell gives a list of the chief of the many roots, seed vessels, and fruits of trees used by the people of various districts as food. But he remarks "The fruits produced by this province are certainly not remarkable for their excellence."

unknown in Panjab before annexation, it was introduced immediately after annexation and was growing in importance. Turnips, carrots and other similar vegetables were sown. Mangoes were a paying fruit-crop in some of the districts of Panjab. There was some export of pears, apples, and other European fruits from the Kulu valley¹. The total area under vegetables in 1901 was 78,542 acres.

Fibres. Of the fibres, cotton was by far the most important, but the uncertainty of seasons which prevailed in the Panjab was a check to its becoming a cotton-growing country². The Panjab cotton was chiefly distinguished by its short staple and somewhat coarse fibre, and was sown by a most wasteful process³. Cotton was increasing rapidly in importance as an export staple. The area under cotton cultivation, which was 687,294 acres in 1867⁴, increased in three years to 8,01,535 (1870—71) and to 10,64,718 acres in 1900—01.

Of the other fibres, hemp or *san* (*crotonia jincea*) was by far the most important of the exogenous plants, and was cultivated in nearly every district of the province⁵. The area under its cultivation was, however, only 51,430 acres in 1870—71 which was reduced to 46,975 acres in 1900—01. Flax was cultivated in the Panjab not for its fibre, but for its seed, which was valuable for the oil obtained from it, and for fodder. Experiments were begun on the plant in 1854⁶. The Agricultural and Horticultural Society seems to have taken a close interest in it⁷. From 1863 operations in raising flax were commenced by a company at Sialkot, but after a few years they were brought to a close⁸. In 1888 the area under flax in the Panjab was 22,000 acres⁹. The total area under fibres in 1901 excluding that under cotton and Hemp was, however, only 3,174 acres. *Saccharum munja*, *Dab* or *panni* (*Eragrostic cynosuroides*) *Kaskas* (*Andropogon muricatum*), *Bagar* (*Andropogon*?) *Parali* (*Dryza sativa*),

1. Parliamentary Papers—Commons, Accounts and Papers—Famine Commission, vol. LXXII, Part II, 1888, p. 177; D. G. Kangra, 1897, Part III, 12; I. G. I. P., vol. i, 62.

2. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 7.

3. See Powell, vol. i, 478—488; see also Reports on Cotton Cultivation for the years 1868 to 1883.

4. Report on Cotton Cultivation 1868—69.

5. Monograph (Fibrous Manufactures), 1891, pp. 2—3.

6. Parliamentary Papers—Commons Accounts—Famine Commission, vol. LXXI, Part II, 1868, p. 177.

7. See the Journal of the Agri. Horti. Society of India, vol. 9, 1855, p. 139.

8. Monograph (Fibrous Manufactures), 1891, p. 3.

9. Parliamentary Papers, Commons Accounts and Papers—Famine Commission, vol. LXXI, Part II, 1868, p. 177.

Mut (*Caren indica*), *Dibriri* (*Typhaangusti polia*), some Liliaceous plants and palms were also said to make ropes, snow shoes and such other articles¹.

Sugar-cane. Sugar-cane, the only source of sugar in the porovince, occupied only 3,70,195 acres in 1870—71, which decreased to 3,50,818 acres in 1900—1901. High price of wheat had in some cases led to the substitution of that crop for sugar-cane. It was, nevertheless, one of the most important and profitable crops, which was grown most largely in the submontane tract that extended between the Jamuna and the Chenab².

Spices. The samples of spices shown in the exhibition of 1864, says Mr. Powell, were not remarkable. Chillies were the most important crop of this class ; ginger was grown chiefly in the hills. Chillies covered an area of 88,174 acres in 1870—71, but in 1900 the acreage had increased to 23,262. Ginger and spices covered an area of 7,546 acres in 1900³.

Oil Seeds. The importance of oil in the Panjab cannot be over-estimated and the consumption of it was something wonderful. It was largely used in cooking and the people also used it for massage of their bodies. The use of oil for lighting purposes hardly needs mention⁴. The principal kind was *sarson* or rape-seed (*Brassica campestris*), *Toria*, sesamun or *til* (*Sesamun orientale*) and linseed or *alsi* (*Linum usitalissimum*) were also grown. In 1901, linseed covered 43,987 acres of land ; til, 183,422 ; rape seed 1,622, 743 ; and other oil seeds 1,944 acres. In 1870—71, linseed was grown only in 17,063 acres of land ; and til covered 168,036 acres. The large extention of area under oil-seeds was mainly due to the growth of a considerable export trade in Drugs and narcotics⁵.

Tea. It was reported in 1861—62 that "in the present disorganised state of China, the cultivation of tea in the Himalayas is peculiarly important" and "the naturalization in our territory of a plant is universal demand all over Central Asia⁶." In 1868 it was reported that "six years ago there was hardly an acre of tea land in private hands to the west of the Jamuna ; now many thousands of acres have been taken up by planters

1. Powell, vol. i, 520—521 : see also the Monograph (Fibrous Manufactures) for further information.

2. Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881—91 ; Latifi 1911, p. 194.

3. Powell, vol. i, 298.

4. Powell vol. i, 418.

5. Provincial Report on the Material Condition of the people 1881—91, p. 9.

6. A. R. 1861—62.

for the growth of tea." The principal tea district in the Panjab remained the country around the Kangra valley, and in that place it was first introduced from plants already established in Kumaon¹. The acreage under tea, which was only 5,527 in 1870-71, had increased to 10,022 in 1900-01.

Tobacco. It was grown more or less in every district as an 'extra' spring crop. In 1900-01 the total acreage under it was 71,340. Poppy was a spring crop. Acreage under poppy which was 17,279 in 1870-71 declined to 12,757 in 1890-91 and was only 7,876 in 1900-01.

Dyes. It appears that indigo cultivation fell off somewhat at the commencement of British rule, consequent on the Government having no motive for promoting any one particular crop, and partly because the canals were not so much attended to². But whereas indigo occupied 61,439 acres in 1870-71, in 1900-01, the acreage was 90,788. Safflower (*Kossambha*) was the other important dye, the acreage under which, however, fell from 19,743 in 1870-71 to 11,761 in 1890-91 and 4,756 in 1900-01.

Forests. Lord Dalhousie, who toured the Panjab, remarked in 1851 that the most striking thing to be noticed during the tour was the total absence of forest trees, and even of fruit trees and bushes, leaving the whole territory one continuous stretch of unrelieved plains³. Scarcity of wood was indeed incidental to the Panjab, it was reported in 1854, but the hilly regions which overhung it abounded in prolific forest, and its central plains were overgrown with brushwood, which, if economized could furnish fuel for the whole population⁴. A considerable area of land was also planted or sown annually by the Forest Department and it was reported in 1881 that there was no lack of this raw material in the Panjab, wood at all the large depots was plentiful and cheap⁵.

Forest revenue, which was realized from the sale of deodar timber, fuel and grazing grass, was only Rs. 3,94,132 in 1869-70. In 1870-71 it had increased to Rs. 9,47,235 and in 1900-1901 the total imperial and provincial revenue was Rs 14,00,768⁶. The area of forest land in the plains was, however, rapidly decreasing as colonization schemes were extended. The

1. Powell, vol. i, 275—283., I.G.I.P. vol. i, 61.

2. Powell, vol. i, 441.

3. Journal of Agri. and Horti. Society of India, vol. XI, 1859—61. p. 4.

4. Foreign, Political, 1st July 1848, pp. 95—6; A.R. 1849—50 to 1850—51.

5. Monograph (Wood Manufacture), pp. 1—2.

6. A.R. 1870—71, A.R. 1900—1901, For further details see L.A.M., 704 etc.

forests provided not only timber but a great variety of gums, resins, drugs, and tanning materials. Gums in the Panjab, however, were not produced in anything like the variety in which they occurred in the southern provinces¹.

The total area cultivated at annexation was 1,23,81,516 acres, in 1860-61 it was 1,36,59,617, in 1870-71 it was 1,83,76,536 acres, but in 1900-1901 the figure had reached 2,90,61,900².

(3)

FAUNA

Fauna of the Panjab had the reputation of being richer and more varied than its flora³. Mahommedans ate the flesh of sheep, goat, cow and low-caste Hindu did not scruple to eat flesh, except that of the cow and fowls, although he could not usually afford a meat diet. High-caste Hindus ate no flesh, not even fish or eggs. Most of the hill tribes ate whatever game they could catch and the food of the vagrant and criminal tribes in the Panjab was usually fox, jackal, lizard, tortoise and such other unclean animals⁴. Most of the tribes on the river banks ate fish. Milk, curds, and *ghee* (clarified butter) were commonly consumed.

Lions, tigers, panthers, leopards were found in the jungles, as were wolves, lynxes, hyenas, martins, porcupines, & c. The deer tribe was numerous⁵.

Yak. Yak was found within the geographical limits of the Panjab but only in the Northern Kangra hills. In the Higher Himalayas it was used for ploughing and pack-carriage. At lower elevations it was crossed with the ordinary cattle of the hills.

Kine. The Panjab kine were of the humped Indian type. In the Himalayas the mountain or Pahari breed was dark in colour, becoming black or red as the elevation increased. The Dhanni or Salt Range breed was similar in size but lighter, tending to white in colour. In the plains there were several breeds, the principal being those of Montgomery, the Malva, and Haryana, and that of the Kachi, the country between Chenab and the Thal Steppe. The best animals were reared in the southern districts of Hissar, Delhi, Rohtak, Gurgaon, and Karnal. Bulls and bullocks were used for ploughing throughout the province. The number

1. Powell, vol. i., p. vii.

2. Reports on Rev. Admn. Panjab for 1862-63 and 1900-1901, A.R. 1870-71.

3. Fr. Leo, O.M. Cap., p. 30.

4. See Panjab Census Report for 1881.

5. Steinback, Lieut-Colonel, 47; Fr. Leo, O.M. Cap., 30.

of Bulls and Bullocks in 1900 was 4,631,729 and that of cows. 3,566,047.

Buffaloes. Wild buffaloes were no longer found in the Panjab, but the domesticated variety was common and highly prized. A good cow-buffalo yielded from 25 to 30 seers of white insipid milk. The number of male buffaloes in 1900 was 592,137 and that of cowbuffaloes 1,903,171.

Horses. Sikhs were extensive breeders of horses, in which they took great pride. Generally the Punjab stock had immensely improved under British rule from the infusion of the English and Arab blood of thoroughbred stallions. The Baloch and Danni breeds were the best known in the Panjab. The number of horses and ponies in the Panjab in 1900 was 319,746, whereas it was only 147,528, in 1870-71.

Sheep and Goats. Sheep were important in south-west Panjab, where wool was a staple product. The dumba or fat-tailed sheep was found in the Salt Range, but did not flourish east of it. In the Himalayas the variety found resembled that of Dartmoor or Exmoor, the Khadu being the best breed. Goats were chiefly kept for milk and meat, but their hair was also largely used. The number of sheep and goats in 1870-71 was 3,803,819, whereas in 1900 it had increased to 9,901,893.

Camels. Camels were extensively used throughout the plains and in the lower Himalayas but the south and south-west supplied the largest numbers. Mostly used as a pack-animal, the camel was also employed for draught, riding, and even ploughing in those parts. In 1900 the Panjab had 271,033 camels, whereas in 1870-71 there were only 148,582.

Dunkeys and Mules. Dunkeys which numbered 257,615 in 1870-71 had increased to 572,364 in 1900-1901. The Donkey was a miserable creature in the Panjab, except in Rawlpindi and the districts west of the Chenab. Mule-breeding from imported donkey stallions supplied by the Army Remount department was carried on in some districts by the Civil Veterinary Department. In 1900-1901, the mules in the Panjab numbered 40,023.

Pasture Grounds. Cattle were largely stall-fed. Every village had its grazing grounds ; but the grass was never abundant and failed entirely in years of scanty rainfall, when the cattle were driven off in large numbers to find pasture along the rivers and below the hills.¹

Miscellaneous. The birds of the country were numerous and of

1. I.G.I.P. vol. i, 64-65, Report on the Material Progress of the Panjab, 1902, p. 11.

great variety and character. Besides the common domestic sparrow, the crow, the hawk the magpie, the pigeon, and similar habitual tenants of the farm-yard, there were in the forests, fields, and lakes, pea-fowl and jungle fowl, partridges, pheasants, quails, parrots, the wild duck, the snipe curlews, herons, cranes, eagles, pelicans, vultures, falcons, nightingales, the moking-bird, and owls etc. The rivers swarmed with fish, such as mullet, carp, and etc., with a great variety totally unknown even by name to the European. Alligators and crocodiles, which were a special food of some tribes like, Jhabel and Kehl, were also found in the rivers¹. As in all other parts of the warm and glowing East, reptile were abundant, but the number of venomous serpents happily bore no proportion to the vast tribes of innocuous snakes. The bee and silk-worm thrived in the Panjab, and the fruits of their industry constituted valuable articles of trade and home consumption².

Products of the Animal Kingdom. The profession of working in leather, always unsavoury, was considered in India to be particularly unclean. Of the leather-working classes in the Panjab, Chamars did not quite form 5 per cent of the whole population. The number of Mochis was much less. Skins ordinarily used for tanning in the Panjab were those of the buffalo, bull or cow, sheep and goat. Besides these the skins of horses, asses and camels were sometimes worked up, and in some parts the skins of other animals also, such as the wild cat, fox, snow leopard, grey and brown squirrel, jackal, bear and barking deer were occasionally made use of.³ Iguana (goh), a kind of lizard, was occasionally hunted in some districts to make shoes of its skin. There was a growing demand for rat and squirrel-skins in Europe⁴. The greater part of the leather produced was thick and hard but of strength inferior to the European. The process of tanning was uniformly rude and troublesome, though the results were occasionally satisfactory as regards softness of the hide⁵. The tanner's craft was suffering a rapid decline in the face of European competition⁶.

Miscellaneous Animal Products. Religious prejudice, combined with lack of scientific imagination, was responsible for an enormous wastage of animal products in the Panjab. With the exception of camel-

1. See 'Criminal Tribes' in Panjab Census Report for 1881. Mr. Ibbetson, the author wrote that the Kehls caught and ate lizards and it was said that a crocodile could smell a Kehl from a long distance and would flee at his approach.

2. Steinbech, Lieut.—Colonel, 47—48; Fr. Leo. O. M. Cap.

3. Monograph (Leather Industry), 1893, pp. 1—15.

4. Latifi, 119.

5. Powell, vol. ii, 121.

6. Latifi, 100.

bone, which was sometimes substituted for ivory in Hoshiarpur and made into toys and other fancy articles by a few artisans in Delhi, the material was not utilised in any craft in the province, wrote Mr. Latifi in 1911. But Mr. Baden Powell doubted in 1868 if the substance was ever utilized in the Panjab. Few municipalities derived any profit from the blood of animals. With the exception of a few instances, horn was not put to any use in the province. Hoofs of cattle were universally wasted. The guts of bullocks and buffaloes were as a rule thrown away. Those of sheep and goats, however, were everywhere made into strings for musical instruments and some other purposes. Hindus considered glue impure, and used it very sparingly. A certain amount of it was manufactured in some districts, but being an inferior product, it had to be rejected in favour of the imported commodity for all the better kinds of work. The ivory industry of the province was unimportant. Manufacture of shell buttons and rings was carried on in the Jullundur district, but the goods had neither finish nor durability and therefore, ceased to be popular¹. The practice of using cow-dung for fuel seriously diminished the natural supply of manure. Peacock's tail was occasionally made into fans and similar fancy objects².

Silk as an article of manufacture had been used for ages in the Panjab³. But at no time had the cultivation of silkworm been carried on systematically by the local people. Efforts made by Europeans to establish the industry were not much successful⁴. Practically the whole of the silk used in the Panjab was imported from China.⁵ The Panjab was the only province where the indigenous wool industry was of any importance. Sheep wool in the plains was used for blanketing and in the hills for flannel or pattu. Goat's hair was principally used for making coarse bags. Camel's hair was woven into Chogas (long over-coats) and some kinds of cloth. It was chiefly used in the making of ropes and, mixed with goat's hair, for socks. There was very little organised trade in horse-hair, which seemed as a rule to be wasted. The fact that it was unsuited to the climate during the greater part of the year had always stood in the way of wool's popularity in the plains⁶.

1. Latifi, 120—130 ; Powell, vol. i, 150—151.

2. Latifi, 130.

3. Powell, vol. ii, p. viii.

4. Monograph (Silk Industry), 1885—86 ; The Journal of Indian Art, vol. X, Nos. 81—88, Oct., 1904, pp. 13—16.

5. I. G. I. P., 79.

6. Latifi, 44—66 ; Powell, vol. ii, p. 7—8 ; Monograph (Woollen Manufactures), 1884—85.

(4)

MINES AND MINERALS

The Panjab was not rich in minerals ; and nearly all its mineral wealth was found in the hills, the only products of the alluvium being kankar or nodular limestone, saltpetre, carbonate of soda, and sal-ammoniac.

Saltpetre. Saltpetre was found on the sites of used and disused habitations, generally associated with the chlorides of sodium, magnesium, or potassium and the sulphate of sodium, potassium, or calcium. The initial process of manufacture, which consisted in allowing water to percolate slowly through the nitrous earth, resulted in a solution not merely of nitre but of all the associated salts. The separation of the nitre from the rest was the work of the refiners. During the Sikh reign, saltpetre was produced in a quantity merely sufficient to supply local demand. After the annexation of the Panjab refineries were established and towards the close of the 19th century they existed all over the province. Saltpetre was exported to Europe, and was also largely used in India in the manufacture of fireworks and gunpowder. The salt was also used for preserving hides, tanning leather, cleansing rice, or as a stimulant for cattle, and particularly camels.

Kankar. The only important mineral product of the plains was kankar, or conglomerated nodules of limestone, used for metalling roads, which was found in most parts.

Carbonate of Soda (barilla). It was made from the ashes of the lana plant (*Salsola foetida*) and from those of the kangan khar (*Haloxylon recurvum*). It was also obtained in a crude form called sajji from reh or soda-soils by washing. Sajji was very extensively used in washing and dyeing cloth. It was also applied to injuries sustained by camels and horses and used to clarify sugar.

Ammonium Chloride or *sal-ammoniac* (*naushadar*) had been made for ages by potters in the Kaithal and Gulila circles of the Karnal district by a primitive process. It was manufactured by burning bricks made of the clay found in ponds and heating the greyish substance which exuded from them in closed retorts. It was occasionally extracted from brick kilns in other districts, but in small quantities. It was used in pharmacy, as also for various industrial purposes¹.

Salt. The chief Panjab salt-deposits were at Khewra, Warcha and Nurpur in the Shahpur district, and at Kalabagh on the Indus, but it was

1. I. G. I. P., vol. i, 75—76 ; Latifi, 136—147 ; Powell, vol. i, 79—90.

also manufactured in a group of villages known as the Sultanpur Mahals in the Rohtak and Gurgaon districts, by the evaporation of brine raised from wells. An impure salt containing only from 60 to 70 percent of sodium chloride was obtained from open quarries at Guma and Drang in the Mandi State for consumption in the hills.

Many mines at Khewra had an inexhaustible supply of the purest rock-salt¹. The out-turn of salt from Khewra which was 916,105 maunds in 1861², increased to 2,123,285 maunds in 1900—1901³. The total amount of salt made and sold in the Panjab rose from 22,20,260 maunds in 1880—1 to 2,361,464 maunds in 1890—91 and 2,655,072 maunds in 1900—1⁴.

Coal. The principal source to which attention was directed early after annexation was the Salt Range, where two of the formations, Oolitic coal and Tertiary coal, were found.

Among the shale of the Oolitic series occurred what was called bagh coal, which was to a certain extent employed as fuel for the Indus steamers. This bed was in a ravine about a mile west of Kalabagh. The occurrence of these masses was altogether irregular and uncertain. The evaporative power of this coal which is in direct ratio to the amount of carbon it contains, was not high. During 1850, 2500 maunds and during 1851, 522,126 maunds of coal was dug, but it did not prove to be remunerative.

The most important series of coal strata in the range, however, were beds occurring in the strata of the eocene series. It was found at many places all along and also across the Indus in the Chichalli range.

The coal of the salt range generally very much resembled that called splint coal, but was soft and brittle. It was not used by the local population as fuel, but after grounding to powder it was administered with milk as "osteocolla" for wounds and broken bones, internally. The coal was better adopted for combustion than for melting ores. The total length through which the coal occurred was 130 miles, in the nummulitic formation, hence the total quantity in existence must have been considerable. But the steep angle at which the seams lay, and the friable nature of the supervening beds rendered shaft-sinking difficult; carriage was also very difficult at many places⁵.

1. Foreign 1848, 30 Dec., 697—5/52 of 21 August and 30 Dec., 693—3/52 of 21 August; Latifi, 139—42; I. G. I. P., vol. i, 69—79.

2. Powell, 72.

3. A. R. 1900—1901.

4. I. G. I. P., vol. i, 76

5. Powell, vol. i, 27—33.

Although, therefore, the existence of coal at numerous points throughout the Salt Range had long been recognized, no attempts were made to work it until the close of the century, except at the large colliery near Dandot in Jhelum district. Towards the close of the century, however, prospecting licences were taken out at Kalabagh on the Indus in Mianwali district, a few other places in Jhelum, and in Shahpur, and great hopes were entertained that the coal would prove to be of a paying quality. The Dandot Mines were worked from 1884 by the North-Western Railway. There was only one seam of coal, which outcropped at various points along the hillside at a mean distance of 300 feet below the limestone scarp which here rose 2,300 feet above sea-level. The seam averaged 2 feet 9 inches in thickness. Though low in fixed carbon, the coal had a relatively high calorific value. In 1891 the out-turn was 60,703 tons and in 1901 : 67,730 tons, when it was established that three million tons remained to be worked.¹

Gold. There were no gold-mines in the Panjab. It was found in minute scales in the sand-stones of the Salt Range, a lower range of hills running parallel to the Himalayan chain, between the rivers Indus and Jhelum ; it was also found in small quantities in the sands of the Indus, Jhelum, Beas, and Sutlej, but the occupation of gold washing was not very remunerative².

Iron. The iron ores of the Panjab were produced along the north-eastern mountain frontier, as also in the lower hills of the Sulaiman and Waziri ranges, and those to the south-east of the Bannu district, and to some extent in the Salt Range. Iron was found on the other side of the province, in the hilly portion of Gurgaon district, and although the hills in the Delhi district exhibited no specimens of iron ore as such there was in them a ferruginous rock.

Along the Himalayan frontier, the principal places of production were the Hill States of the Simla district (Jubal, Dhani, Bishahr, and Rampur). Again at Suket and Mandi, iron was largely produced, and the mines at Kot Khai Falihpur, and Bhir Bangal of Kangra were famous and inexhaustible, closely resembling the Swedish. Next to this, in the hills due north of Peshawar was the source of the Bajaur iron, which was of fine quality.

The iron ores of the Himalayan districts were mostly magnetic oxides of singular purity, and existed in a great measure in the form of an iron sand or aggregate of particles of oxide of iron. In other places the ore

1. I. G. I. P., vol. i, 76-77 ; Latifi, 298.

2. A. R., 1861-62, page xxii.

was found as a massive haematite; and was sometimes associated with copper. In Suket, and a few other localities, a glistening haematite occurred.

Iron existed at Kanigorum in the Waziri hills; it was found also as a haematite in several parts of the Salt Range and in the Chichulli range on the other side of the river. In a few places near the same ranges, and especially associated with shale, this metal was found in the form of a sulphuret i.e., iron pyrites¹.

Attempts to exploit the deposits in British territory had failed through lack of fuel, labour, and communication, and the indigenous iron smelting industry was nearly at extinction at Bashahar and Mandi. The imported material was so cheap that, except in a few inaccessible places, it no longer paid to work the ores by the primitive local methods².

Other Metals. Copper was formerly melted in considerable quantities as in various parts of the Outer Himalayas in Kulu, where a killas-like rock persisted along the whole range, and was known to be copper-bearing. Veins of galena and of copper pyrites occurred in the Lower Himalayas, in Kulu, and in the Simla hill States; and stibnite was found at Shigri in the valley of the Chandra river in Lahul.

There were quarries at Bakhli in the State of Mandi, near Kanhiara in Kangra district, and throughout Kulu, which turned out a good quality of slate. A quarry at Kund in the Rewari tehsil of Gurgaon was worked under European management, but the slate and flake were not of good quality.

Petroleum. The oil lands of the Panjab all lay between north latitude 32°-31' and 33°-47' and east longitude 71°-22' and 73°-9'. Springs occurred in the Attock district, and hills in the south-west, but the average recorded output during the six years 1898 to 1903 was only 1,674 gallons.

Alum. Near Kalabagh in the Mianwali district, on the Indus, considerable quantities of a pyritous shale were extracted for the production of alum, but the mining was carried on in an irregular and fitful way. The output in 1898 amounted to 750 tons³.

1. Powell, vol. i, 1-2; A. R. 1861-62, p. xxii.

2. Latifi, 229.

3. Coal and Iron-13-16 of Oct 1883, Part A (General Report on the Panjab Oil lands-Benjamin Layman); I. G. I. P., vol. i, 78.

CHAPTER II

People, Their Life and Their Manners

(1)

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE ethnical type in the Panjab was distinctly Aryan, there being few traces of aboriginal or foreign blood, if the Tibetan element in the extreme north-east be excluded. The typical Panjabi was tall, spare but muscular, broad-shouldered, with full dark eyes and an ample beard. The hair was invariably black, but the complexion varied from a deep live-brown to wheat coloured. As a rule the lower classes were darker than the upper, and complexion was fairer in the north-west than in the south-east. The Jats of the Manjha and Malwa exhibited a splendid physique, and the peasantry of the plains were generally a finer people; but in the riverain velleys there was a marked falling-off, and in the south-east of the province the type approximated to that of United Provinces (U.P.) and Rajasthan. In marked contrast to the plains people were those of the Himalayas. Among these the higher or Rajput class was slight, high-bred, and clean-limbed, but sometimes over-refined while owing to immorality the lower classes were often weakly and under-sized. Lahourees were not a comely race, and the admixture of Hindu and Tartar blood had failed in producing a population remarkable for good looks and the people of Spiti bore unmistakable evidence on their faces of their Chinese or Mongolian descent. The people of Spiti, wrote Mr. Fitzgerald in 1902, were the ugliest in the world and: "It is very difficult for a student of human nature to explain why people living at high altitudes should be so abominably ugly." Nothing was more striking than the influence of hereditary occupation and town life on physique and the urban and trading populaion were markedly inferior physically, though not intellectually, to the peasantry¹.

Baron Charles Hugel, who travelled in Kashmir and the Panjab in 1835-36, does not seem to have been impressed by the general behaviour

1. Govt. of Panjab Selection from Records, New Series, No. 10, pp. 42-43; Lee J. Fitzgerald—Guide to Dharmasala, 1902, pp. 34-35; I. G. I. P., i, 49-50; for further details see—A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N. W. F. P., 41-60.

of the people of the Panjab¹. But writing in 1870, Mr. C. Rebsch Stulpnagel observed that the Sikhs were "far superior to the inhabitants of India proper as regards physique, character and power of intellect" and about a Panjabi in general he added that he "learns to think for himself and maintains his opinion ; he assimilates all that comes under his personal observation ; he is frequently original, and withal manly²". Before him, in 1842, Charles Masson too had the similar views to put forward³.

(2)

NAMES AND TITLES OF PANJABIS

The proper names of men and women are well worth study for the sake of indications they give of the national life, the racial history and the course of civilization of those that have invented them⁴.

Panjabis attained individuality of nomenclature by an enormous variety of names. The ordinary name generally consisted of two words, which were selected from a variety of causes, astrological, religious, and superstitious. The father's name was rarely, if ever, given to the son ; and there was seldom anything like a surname, persons being distinguished only by the variety of names employed. Among Hindus it was essential that religious name given at birth should never be known or used, and the name by which a man was known was more or less a nick-name ; while both among Hindus and Mahommedans it was often not easy to say what a man's real name was, as a man who was known among his friends as Gotra or Mujjan would on occasions of State entitle himself Govardhan Das or Murtaza Khan. All Sikhs had names ending in "Singh" but title was not confined to them ; and as to others, a man who one year was called Parsu would, if things prospered with him, call himself Parasu Rama next year⁵.

The various causes among Hindus, which led to the selection of words used for their names, may in brief be mentioned here. Religious aspiration of the parents took its effect in the superstition that it was a "good work towards salvation" to pronounce constantly the "Name of God : " thus the name Bhagwan Devi, Ram Pershad etc. Natural affection was sometimes clear in names and pet names as Sukhdarshan (beautiful to see) and Phuli Ram (flower) etc. Sometimes certain special superstitions, for

1. Hugel (1845), 37.

2. Stulpnagel, C. Rebsch—*The Sikhs*—, 3,

3. Masson, Charles—(*Narrative of Various Journeys*), 1842, i, 433.

4. Temple, Captain R. C., 1883, p. 1.

5. I. G. I, P., i, 56.

example, that by giving a child a disgusting name it would be saved from evil influence, also played their part¹. And to add to this, there were some special customs which had their influence in the matter. In the Panjab, second wives, married on the death of former ones, had names akin to the opprobrious ones, each depending on a curious custom. The new wife on entering her husband's house for the first time carried on her head, if poor, a pot of water or milk or a basket of vegetables ; if rich, it was carried for her by a woman of the castes carrying on such occupations. The wife was henceforth called in the new household by the name suited to the special circumstances of the case. Thus—

Mehri—Portress.

Gujri—Cowherdess.

Malan—Gardener.²

The proper name of Mahomedans throughout the oriental world was called his "alam", as Ahmad, 'Ali, Yahya.

Besides this, individuals could bear some or all of the peculiarities like the kunya, name of relationships Abul' Abbas, the father of 'Abbas ; the laqab, honorary title, as Ar-Rashid, the guide ; the ansab, names of denominations, as Salim Chisti, Salim the Chist ; the 'alama, a royal title, as An-Nasiru 'llah, the helper of God ; the 'anwar, title of honor, as Hujjatu'd-Islam, the testimony of Islam ; and the takhallus, nom-de-plume, as Hafiz, Nazir and Wassaf³. From 'alam and laqab were derived the names of ordinary Musalmans in the Panjab which were due to religious influences, and had not an Indian origin like those of their Hindu neighbours⁴. But only about half of the proper names of Mahomedans in the Panjab were of religious origin, the rest differing in no way from those of Hindus⁵. Names of direct religious origin were such as Abdul-karim. Hinduised names in which Arabic (and Persian) words were twisted into a Hindu shape were such as :—

Indian Form

Ahmada

Barkata

Hajo

Original Form

Ahmad.

Barkat.

Haji.

Names common to Hindus and Musalmans were such as Bahadur, Chandu, Gulab, Kalu etc. Names belonging only to Masalmans, but

1. Temple, Captain R. C., 1880, pp. 21—22.

2. *ibid*, 29.

3. *ibid*, 40—41.

4. Temple, Captain R. C., 1880, p. 46.

5. *ibid*, 46, I. G. I. P., i, 57.

obviously of Hindu origin were such as Baghar, Gagan, Hasta, etc. As a matter of fact, Mahommedans had the same ideas about naming children as the Hindus entertained.

Mahommedan female names which, though in general showed all the characteristics of the male names, in a few cases had a special origin in the Mahommedan religion, must be mentioned. They were such as—

Nur—light,
Amina—Security,
Asya—Running water,
Mihar—Sun, etc.¹

Affixes and prefixes with the regular name were found. Affixes generally denoted the caste or clan such as Ahluwalia, Seth, or Varma (a purely Khattri appellation); or were honorific, such as the Mahommedan 'Khan'. This affix sometimes, but rarely tended to harden into surname. Prefixes were honorific and answered to the European Mister or "Monsieur." Among Hindus there were Baba, Lala, Sodhi, Raja, and Pandit; and among Mahommedans, Munshi, Fakir, Wazirzada, and Makhdum. The honorific titles, many of which, like Rai Bahadur and Khan Bahadur, were given by the British Government, made the name run as Makhdum Abdul Aziz Khan Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur, in the case of Mahommedans; Baba Raghunath Singh Rai Bahadur Diwan Bahadur in the case of Hindus².

The Panjabi being a jocular person, his nickname sometimes was very interesting. Some nicknames were merely description of physical or mental peculiarities, such as Ram Singh Lambbu — the long (tall) Ram Singh. A tall man with a large head and a 'penchant' for preposterously large turbans would receive the nicknames of Kumbh Karan. A man who went out to shoot a tiger and promptly and perhaps very sensibly ran away, received the title of "Shermar" (tiger-slayer)³.

(3)

THEIR LANGUAGES

The Panjab was surrounded by countries which were, with the exception of the North-West Provinces (U.P.) inferior to it in fertility and resources, and the races who inhabited them had been for generations

1. Temple, Captain R. C., 47—51; see also D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 102; D. G. Gurgaon, 1910, p. 83.

2. I. G. I. P., 57, D. G. Patiala State, 1904, p. 92; D. G. Jhelum, 1904, p. 145.

3. Panjab Notes and Queries, i, Feb. 1884, p. 5.

pressing in upon it. Nevertheless the great mass of its population spoke Panjabi or dialects closely akin to it and it was solely on its extreme borders that Bilochi, Pashto, Bhotia and Kanawari, the only foreign tongues of any numerical importance, were to be found. With the exception of Tibeto-Burman, spoken in its pure form only in the Himalayan canton of Spiti and in a debased form in Lahul and Upper Kanawar, the vernaculars of the Panjab belonged entirely to the Aryan family of languages, each one of which was divided into numerous dialects, sub-dialects or patois, between which no hard and fast line could possibly be drawn¹. The Hindi of Delhi, the Panjabi of Amritsar, the Tibetan of Spiti, the Pashto of Peshawar, and the Bilochi of the Sulemans were well-marked languages.

In the whole of the south-western corner of the province, in a strip along the Jamuna to the hills, and in another strip along the southern border to the middle of the Sirsa district, in other words, in the whole of Gurgaon, Delhi, and Rohtak and the detached portion of Jind and Patiala, in almost the whole of Karnal, in the three southern tehsils of Ambala, in all but the north of Hissar and in the south of Sirsa, the language was western Hindi. In all the remainder of the Panjab planis till we came to the extreme south-western corner the language of the people was Panjabi. The meridian of Sarhind in the east, and the course of the Ghaggar from where it crossed that line to Sirsa in the south, were probably fair approximation to the limits of the Panjabi language.

The Panjabi language, so limited, could be broadly divided into Western Panjabi², which was spoken in the Indus Valley and east of it as far as the valley of the Chanab in Gujranwala, whence its boundary was a line through Montgomery district and the State of Bahawalpur ; and eastern Panjabi spoken east of it as far as the meridian passing through Sirhind.

These languages, as mentioned above, were divided into numerous dialects. The Western Panjabi (also called Jatki, the 'Jat's speech, and Multani) comprised the important dialects of Hindko, Pothwari, Chibhali, Dhundi, Ghebi and Awaskari. The Eastern Panjabi had two main dialects; the standard of the Manjha or central part of the Bari Doab, spoken round Amritsar ; and that of the Malwa, the tract south of the Sutlej. Western Hindi comprised Hariani (the dialect of Haryana), Bangarn (that of the Bangarn), Jatu (the Jat speech), and Ahirwali (the Ahir speech).

1. Census 1901, pp. 279—287.

2. also called Lahnda.

Beyond the Indus, Bilochi in the south and Pashto in the north were the languages of the people. The latter was spoken this side the Indus too, but chiefly by a few Pathans settled immediately on the river bank and by them often with women of their families.

Mention must also be made of the maze of Sanskritic dialects spoken in the hills, and hence generally called Pahari. These resembled Rajasthani rather than Panjabi, and merged into the Tibeto-Burman in Lahul and Klawar. The Gujar, or Gujar speech, also deserves mention as a tongue spoken in the Himalyas, but also closely resembling Rajasthani.

All over the Panjab, except in the strictly Biloch and Pashto-speaking tracts, Urdu was the language of the more highly educated classes; while in a more or less corrupt form it was the *lingua franca* of all classes, at least in the towns. Finally, most of the vagrant tribes had dialects of their own and intelligible only to themselves¹.

Trends Under the British Rules. It was reported in the Administration Report for 1851—52 that Panjabi as a spoken language was losing its currency whereas Urdu was becoming familiar to the upper and middle classes². Persian had been the language of the court and of public business, but between 1851 and 1854 it was officially replaced by Urdu in the various divisions of the province, while English was employed in correspondence of all semi officers of Government. Persian Urdu with the Persian script was decided to be taught in schools under Government patronage³. Opinion among the public differed over the medium of instructions and even as late as 1891, "The Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore recommended the adoption of Panjabi. But forces in favour of Urdu were stronger, and in its issue dated 4th March 1891, "Kaisar-ul-Akhbar" of Karnal condemned the suggestions forwarded by "The Civil and Military Gazette" as mischievous⁴. Urdu was gradually spreading over the province and superseding the indigenous languages; and by 1881, Pashto and Bilochi had already given place to it in many parts of the province. Thus in 1880—81 whereas 24 of the Panjab newspapers were published in Urdu, only one each was printed in Gurmukhi, Hindi and Persian⁵. During the year 1901, the number of Urdu papers had reached 137, while that of Hindi and Gurmukhi was only seven

1. Census 1881, pp. 155—160; I. G. I. P., i, 47; see also Census 1901, pp. 271—292—it gives a different classification of the languages and their dialects.

2. A. R. 1851—52, p. 184.

3. A. R. 1854—55 and 1855—56, p. 45; A. R. 1892—93, p. 320.

4. Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab, 1891, p. 99.

5. A. R. 1880—81, p. 267.

and four respectively. The paper in Persian had probably died down¹. English education being a road to lucrative employment; it was not surprising to see the demand for it springing among the people². Thus whereas in 1880—81, there were only two English newspapers published in the province, in 1901 the number had reached 35³.

(4)

FLUCTUATION OF POPULATION

Increase In The population. The picture that is drawn by contemporary English writers, of the conditions existing in the Panjab at the time of annexation is one of complete lawlessness and chaos. While it is not necessary for the author or for the reader of this thesis to agree entirely with the views of these writers, it would be interesting to quote here the original words of some of them. Thus, according to one writer, the Sikhs who ruled the country were "known alike for the antipathy to justice and to regulation of laws, for the bloodshed and cruelty which stain the pages of its history, for the unscrupulousness of its minister and fierceness of its soldiery, for the savage barbarism of the masses and the extraordinary bravery of its army"⁴. The system of government under Ranjit Singh says another writer, was "rude and a simple one. Busied in war and entangled in politics, the sovereign had little leisure for internal legislation or for the organization of any establishment except military"⁵. Describing the Sikh rule in the Protected States on the Ambala and Karnal border, Captain Abbot, Settlement Officer, wrote in 1848 : "The arm of the law, if law it can be called, was paralysed ; no protection was given to property ; indeed the State set the example and plundered without remorse". In the hills of Kangra and the neighbouring States the times had been no less troublous. If such we believe to be the state of affairs among the comparatively peaceable population of the east and north of the province, it may be imagined what was the condition of the frontiers, where wild hill tribes, still many of them savage, habitually fighting one another for sheer love of game, resided. On the cis-Indus and Salt-Range tracts the people were more peaceful ; but this according to another writer, only made them easy subjects of extortion. In the centre and south-east of the province the Sikh rule was stronger and more

1. A. R. 1901—1902, p. 183.

2. Thapar, K. B.—Convocation Addresses—, 28 ; see also the different Administration Reports.

3. A. R. 1880—81, p. 267 A. R. 1901—1902, p. 183.

4. Mason, Charles—Narrative of Various Journeys— i, 1842, p. 2.

5. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 8.

equitable, but here too their one object the writer continues, was "to wring from the cultivators the utmost farthing that could be extorted without compelling them to abandon their fields. He who was not a Sikh, and therefore a soldier, was only valuable in so far as he could be utilised as payer of revenue".

We may or may not agree entirely with the views quoted above, but this remains a fact that when the Panjab came into the British hands, Sirsa and the greater part of Hissar were almost uninhabited; Karnal, Rohtak, South Ambala and Ferozepur once covered with rich cultivation, were largely waste or jungle, and Shahpur almost a deserted tract; while the valleys of the Indus and the Chenab were in many parts covered with impenetrable forest inhabited only by wild beasts. At that time there were no canals beyond the Lower Sutlej; by 1900, the area irrigated by State Canals had reached the figure 4,243,524 acres, whereas that irrigated by private canals, the formation of which was encouraged by the British Government was 823,729 acres. There was then no line of communication worth the name; the British Government developed it with great speed. By 1901 the mileage of the railway line in the Panjab had reached the figure 19,881. In those days lack of security on roads and levy of vexatious transit and custom dues prevented exportation of grain. While one district died in starvation another had surpluses of grains. All this was speedily reformed under the British Government. A fixed and moderate, if inelastic, assessment of land revenue was introduced to replace quite an uncertain demand¹.

Under a strong and well-meaning rule; and in a country not yet fully developed, these advantages entail a continued increase in the number of people, acting as greater "inducements to live and bring into life²". And in the Panjab, it actually happened so.

The population of the Panjab, starting from the first Census in 1854 to that in 1901 was as follows :—

1. Census Report, 1881, pp. 50—53. As the administrative machinery was not then fully developed, the first two censuses of Panjab (1855 and 1868) were at best a preliminary attempt to collect various informations about the population, which were for the first time done exhaustively and authentically only in the Census of 1881.

The Press in Panjab, too, appreciated this all round development and some of the papers, indeed, had nothing but praises for the British rule—see Home 1885, Public, March 3—4, B.; Home 1892, Public, May 3/4 B.; Home 1894, Public, May, 98—99, B.

2. Census 1881, pp. 52—53; A. R. 1900—1901.

Year				Population
British Territory				
1854	..	...	...	15,161,321.
1868	...	...	...	17,609,518.
1881	...	...	...	18,850,437.
1891	...	...	...	20,866,847.
1901	...	...	...	22,455,819.
Indian States				
1881	...	...	...	3,861,683.
1891	...	...	...	4,263,280.
1901	...	...	...	4,424,398.

Thus, as it is clear from above, the population increased between 1855 and 1881 by 24·3 percent. But between 1868 and 1881 due to famines, the increase had been only 7·1 percent, while the corresponding increase during the equal interval between the first two enumerations was 16·1 per cent or considerably more than double that rate. Again the population of the Indian States between 1881 and 1901 increased by 18·6 percent. In the 1881-1891 decade the rate of increase in each was practically the same, but during 1891-1901 the Indian States did not increase in population half as rapidly as the British Territory¹.

In the light of the above explanation, it is not difficult to understand this increase in population and as a matter of fact, the rate of increase was not so large as it could have been expected. What was surprising was the uneven rate which the increase in population was following what was believed to be a very steady improvement in the economic structure of the country².

The cause which could be forwarded for such fluctuation in population was the famines which followed every short period of prosperity in the Panjab. The population being divided in the manner that 53·8 percent depended primarily upon the produce of soil while further 31·7 earned a most precarious livelihood and of these latter some two thirds depended

1. Census 1881, p. 48 ; Census 1901 pp. 48-49.

2. Census 1881, p. 48 ; Census 1891, p. 79.

upon rural population ; the failure of rains at once attacked the means of existence of some three-quarters of the population, while another tenth, dwellers in towns, suffered from the smallest rise in prices, and were peculiarly liable to epidemic disease. The normal course of events seemed to be something of this sort. The rains failed and distress ensued ; next year the rain failed again and famine devastated the country, while immigrants poured in from the even less favoured tracts which surrounded the Panjab and cast an additional burden upon resources already insufficient to meet the needs of the resident population. The famine was followed by virulent epidemics of fever and cholera, the old and young died literally like flies in autumn, while too many succumbed even in the prime of life, the death-rate mounted to an appalling figure, the population, purged of its weak and sickly element, exhibited a marvellous recuperative faculty and all prospered till the swing of the pendulum brought with it a return of famine and pestilence.

The census of 1855 was, thus, taken exactly half way between the moderate famine of 1851 and that of 1860. Annexation had preceded it by an interval of only six years, and its effects had scarcely had time to make themselves felt. The four years which followed were years of fair harvests and untroubled by pestilence. Then came the famine of 1860, not one of the worst kind which only lasted one year and was confined within narrow limits. After it followed seven years of quite exceptional prosperity, and immediately at the end of them on the 10th of January 1868, another census was taken. The terrible famine of 1869 followed, with two years of failure of crops and exceptional mortality. Seven more favourable years followed, to be again succeeded by the drought of 1877, which, if it did not reach the actual famine pitch, was succeeded by three years of sickness, war, agricultural distress, and high prices such as had not been paralleled since annexation. And at the close of the period of distress, when just better days were dawning, came the 1881 census. The enumeration of 1855 was made when the pendulum was midway, and before the Province had had time to develop ; that of 1868 was made when the pendulum was at its highest point ; that of 1881 when it was at its lowest. Part of the difference was probably due to the census of 1855 having been far more defective in comparison with that of 1868 than was that of 1868 as compared with the 1881 enumeration. But there was little doubt that the smaller rate of increase which the figures of 1881 showed when compared with those of 1868 was in great measure due to the peculiar juncture at which the respective enumerations were made¹.

1. Census 1881, pp. 56—57 ; Census 1891, p. 79.

Migration of the People Within the Province. The Census Report of 1881 discussed four types of migrations within the province.

1. **Temporary** : due to a local failure of grass or even of food, driving people to seek the one or the other in more favoured districts ; to a temporary demand for labour on public works or for transport purposes attracting a large number of labourers to a particular locality, and the like. In this migration usually young men moved in search of employment and it was not essential that the whole family should move.

2. **Periodic** : due to changing seasons which drove men to and fro between the cool mountains and the warm valleys and plains, or from the scorched up steppes to the grassy river banks and lower hills, and which sent them forth for purposes of carriage, trade etc. This took place perhaps most largely between Afghanistan and Panjab.

3. **Permanent** : where overcrowding or distress on the one hand, or physical or political advantages on the other, drove away from one district and attracted to another people who settled down permanently on the land.

4. **Reciprocal** : where in the absence of any local attractions to induce movement from either quarter, persons passed from one district to another and were replaced by others moving in the opposite direction. This form was largely peculiar to the east of the Province, due to the prevailing marriage system there. Among the Muslims in the villages, a man could not marry a girl from his own, his mother's and his father's tribe or clan and in some parts mother's mother's tribe was also excluded. As the distribution of population was mostly tribal, he could not marry a neighbouring village girl. Thus he must bring a wife from some far off place¹.

To these, the 1901 Census Report added a fifth type, found chiefly in the south-east of the province, but not confined to it. There was for instance, a rule, and apparently a stringent rule, among the Rajputs in Gurgaon that a daughter could only be given in marriage to the West, and wife taken from the East. Such rules were not quite unknown among some other castes. This form of migration, as the report decided to call it, was "one sided"².

The foundation of the Chenab colony led to an extensive movement of the population from the congested submontane districts to the virgin soil of the new colony. Otherwise the biggest migration within the

1. Census 1881, pp. 58—59.

2. Census 1901, p. 73.

province was the temporary one in search of grazing for cattle or for employment¹.

Extra Provincial Migration. The Panjab was free from that disinclination to emigrate which was strongly felt in other parts of India. The total number of emigrants to other parts of India (including all the States except Mysore) amounted in 1901 to 437,262 souls whereas the immigrants numbered 627,990 persons, so that the province gained 190,728 souls by migration within India, as against 154,542 in 1891 when the figures did not include the whole of Baluchistan. Mass of the immigrants came from the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and Rajputana, the immigrants from the former in 1901 being just 100,000 souls, half males and half females, while from Rajputana their number was 188,161, over 100,000 of whom were females. Migration to Kashmir left Panjab only a nominal balance of 2,155 souls (in 1901) while the province lost 20,699 to Burmah and 16,507 to Bengal and Assam, nearly all of whom were males. On the total account in 1901, the province gained from the other parts of India only 57,508 males as against 133,220 females.

In addition to this volume of immigration there were in 1901 : 167,277 immigrants from other countries outside India. In other words, the total immigrants population in the Panjab numbered 795,269 as against 740,750 in 1891, an increase of 7.4 per cent. But we have no figures for the migration to those countries. As regards the immigration from England and Afghanistan there could be but little doubt, as Census Report of 1891 said that it largely exceeded the emigration to those countries from the Panjab though the intimate trade connections of the commercial classes with Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia possibly caused a good deal of emigration to these countries. But it could not, said the Census Report of 1901, then be presumed, as in 1891, that the immigration from outside India, large as it was, exceeded the emigration to outside India. The extensive emigration to Africa, Hong-Kong and the Straits Settlements in search of employment also took place in the province. There was, besides, a certain amount of emigration to Borneo and Sumatra. No estimate of any value can be formed of this emigration which was almost entirely temporary, being confined to men in service in the military forces and trades, but its extent may to some extent be gauged by the fact that, on the night of the census of 1901, 1,000 labourers for Uganda were said to be collected in one sarai in the city of Lahore. More than 25,000 Punjabis were believed to have been resident in Uganda in 1901².

1. I. G. I. P., vol. i., p. 41 ; Census 1901, p. 80.

2. Census 1881, pp. 62—76. ; Census 1891, section 257 ; Census 1901, pp. 80—81 ; I. G. I. P., vol. i, p. 40.

(5)

DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE.

In the Panjab and indeed in India, it was not easy to draw a line of demarcation between village and a town. In England, the distinction between the two at that time was that the rural population was mainly engaged in agriculture while the urban in professional avocation, commerce and manufacture. In the Panjab the case was different. In the case of larger towns like Delhi, Amritsar or Lahore, the contrast between England and the Panjab was not so apparent, as such places had by the presence of courts, facilities of communication, or other circumstances become political, religious, or commercial centres. But in the case of small towns the contrast was most striking. The gradation from the city to purely agricultural village here was imperceptible for the reason firstly that, the local manufactures were so insignificant that the commerce of the country, being concerned rather with the collection and exportation of raw produce of the rural tracts than with supplying the needs of industrial activities, tended to be widely scattered over the country which yielded its staples rather than to be concentrated in a few great urban centres. Again, such industries as were necessary to supply the villagers were run in villages themselves. Thus if the towns were smaller and less distinctly urban than in England, villages were large and less distinctly rural. The anarchy that had prevailed in the Panjab before British rule had made it essential that a community should inhabit a defensible site and be large enough to protect themselves not only against strangers but also against their neighbours.

It was only arbitrarily in 1881, therefore that all places in British territory having a population of 5,000 or more were classed as towns¹.

The proportion which the rural population bore to the whole remained remarkably constant, as shown below :—

Percentage of rural population			
	1901	1891	1881
British Territory	88·44	88·43	87·06
Native States	89·51	89·29	88·78

There was no trace in the province of that general movement of the population to the towns which was so marked in Western Europe, though

1. Census 1881, pp. 17 to 18.

there was perceptible movement towards cities (having more than 100,000 inhabitants).

Urban Population. The total urban population of the province in 1901 amounted to 2,595,372 and its distribution as compared with 1891 and 1881 is shown below :—

	1901	1891	1881
Cities	22.1	21.0	19.5
Large towns	34.5	34.9	28.4
50-100,000	18.3	20.0	13.2
20-50,000	16.2	14.9	15.2
Small towns	43.4	44.1	52.1
15-20,000	6.1	6.9	5.6
10-15,000	7.6	8.2	8.5
5-10,000	22.4	22.2	23.7
Under 5,000	7.3	6.8	14.3

The combined population of the three cities of Lahore, Delhi and Amritsar had increased by 13.4 percent, so that one-third of the increase in the population was in the cities.

The figures show that all the large towns in the British territory in 1901 had increased in population since 1881, but that since 1891 Ambala, Ferozepur, Rewari, Panipat and Dera Ghazi Khan had decreased. The towns like Patiala, Narnaul and Maler Kotla in the Indian States also decreased in population.

Thus the tendency of small towns in the Panjab was to decay and the causes for this were not far to seek. The small country towns, which had been by-passed by the railways, had no well-established manufacture and their through-trade was at once diverted to places more conveniently situated. The administration also tended to centralisation and the legal business of the country was carried on at the headquarters of the district, so that these latter towns almost invariably showed a marked increase. Trade, however, was the great factor. The old hand industries had been fatally affected by the introduction of steam-power, and as they died out the towns which formed marts for the exchange of local manufactures had

to succumb unless they could support more highly organised factories. These remarks apply equally to the States, whose capitals generally showed a greater increase of population than the States as a whole, while their smaller towns, unless situated on railway lines, were decaying. This was significant of the economic changes which were slowly being brought about under British rule¹.

(6)

DENSITY OF POPULATION

The Panjab, as reported by the author of the Census Report of 1891, presented every variety in the density of its population, from the Himalayan tracts of Spiti where there was one person to the square mile to the Amritsar tehsil, where there were 840².

Compared with other large Indian Provinces, wrote Mr. Ibbetson in 1881, the population was less dense than that of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, Madras or Bombay proper, but more dense than that of Berar, Hyderabad, Bombay with Sind, Central India, Assam, the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh), Rajputana, Sind or Burma. Turning to European countries, the density for the Province as a whole was about the same as for Ireland and the Austrian Empire.

There were certain essential conditions which determined the density of population in the Panjab. Dense population was impossible where the proportion of the culturable to the total area was actually small, where rainfall was scanty and canal irrigation absent. Given a fairly sufficient rainfall, the population was densest where circumstances had permitted or encouraged the development of extensive irrigation from wells or canals.

The areas in which the conditions of sufficient rainfall, nearness of spring level, and a fertile soil were combined in the highest degree, were eight districts which ran along the foot of the hills from the Jamuna to the Jhelum, namely, Jullundur, Sialkot, Amritsar, Amritsar Division, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, and Ambala Division. And the density at these places was high³.

The average density of population was 185 persons per square mile in 1901, as compared with 174 in 1891 and 158 in 1881. In British territory alone it was 199·8 in 1901, compared with 121·1 in the Indian

1. Census 1901, pp. 14—21.

2. Census 1891, p. 60

3. Census 1881, pp. 33—34.

States. The density was the greatest in the natural division called the Indo-Gangetic Plain West, and in the districts of Jullundur and Amritsar. The sub-Himalayan tracts were also nearly as densely populated. In marked contrast to these two areas were the north-west dry and the Himalayan areas¹.

Density and the Cultivated Area. It was reported in 1901 that the density of the rural population on the cultivated area was the same as that of urban population, in the British territory. And taking into consideration all the factors which make a population congested, it was concluded that "fortunately for the Panjab the enterprising spirit of the mass of the population and their readiness to emigrate from the densely populated tracts, even to countries beyond India, prevents any actual congestion, though most of the districts which show a high rate of density are probably always on the verge of it"².

Break up of the Family Tie. For conditions which determined the distribution of houses in the Panjab, it could broadly be said that where the hamlet was the unit of habitation, the families lived in separate houses ; where the large compact village was the rule, they inhabited joint court-yards. But there was another factor which probably operated largely to separate families in the west and brought them together under a common roof in the east, and that was the difference in religion and in social customs which accompanied it. Among Hindus and among Mahommedan converts in tracts where the old customs still survived in almost unabated strength, a man could not marry within his tribe and cousins were as brothers and sisters. Here then the group of related families could safely live together, and, as among themselves, there was no need to seclude the women. But in the western districts where among Mahommedans connection with even a first cousin was not incest the oriental belief that chastity in woman was possible only under conditions which rendered unchastity impossible kept the families apart. The comparatively high place occupied by the hilly districts of the Rawalpindi and Peshawar divisions was perhaps owing to the custom prevalent there of the land-owner allowing his tenants or field labourers often of inferior caste, to occupy a part of his house ; a custom which the stricter caste rules of the eastern and the central Panjab rendered impossible in those portions of the Province.

1. I. G. I., vol. XX, pp. 279—80. ; Census 1901, p. 10.

2. Census 1901, pp. 13—14. ; See also B. H. Powell, *Baden—Land System of British India*, 1892, pp. 537—538.

Although the figures collected before 1881, were not very reliable, yet the general tendency shown by a comparison of the figures for the three Panjab censuses (1855, 1860 and 1881) seemed to be towards greater separation of dwellings¹. The number of occupied houses increased by 17·8 percent between 1881 and 1891, while the population inhabiting them had increased by only 10·7 percent². Between 1891 and 1901, the occupied houses increased in number by 12·6 percent ; and this rate exceeded that of the population by two to one³.

With the increase in the number of occupied houses, there was a decrease in the number of persons to each occupied house. The number of persons to each occupied house in 1901 was only a fraction over 6, as against 6·5 in 1891 and 6·75 in 1881⁴.

This result was doubtless in part connected with the movement towards severality in all social and legal relations which was the result mainly of the British system of law, but it was as surely a sign of that increase in security which led the peasant to build away from his neighbour and of that increase in prosperity which gave him the means to do so⁵. Under the British rule it seemed that it was getting very uncommon for large families to remain undivided. In less orderly times they lived together for mutual protection and unity was found to be strength. Strength seemed now to be less in demand. Under growing security the family tie was giving way in the struggle for individual independence⁶.

(7)

LIFE AND HEALTH

Age. The mean age of males in the Panjab was the same in 1901 as in 1881, while that of females had only risen by a tenth of a year. In 1901, the mean age in the Panjab excluding the North-West Frontier Province, was 25 years for males and 24·9 years for females. The figures, however, were affected by migration and various other factors, so that no conclusion of value could be drawn from them. One thing, however, was clear that, judged by European standards, this was low ; but it was higher than that of any other province in India, and, allowing for the general inaccuracy of the age-return indicated a longevity above the Indian average⁷.

1. Census 1881, p. 41.

2. Census 1891, p. 64.

3. Census 1901, p. 24.

4. *ibid*, 26.

5. Census 1891, p. 64.

6. Census 1881, p. 47.

7. I. G. I., Vol. XX. pp. 280—281.

The registration of births throughout the Panjab was attempted for the first time in 1880¹. In the first three quinquennia of the period from 1881 to 1901 the birth rate averaged a little over 39 per 1,000, but in the last quinquennium it rose to 43, pointing to better registration. The fewest births occurred in May, after which the rate rose gradually till July and was high in August and September, reaching its zenith in October. It then fell gradually until it dropped suddenly in March. The mean death-rate for the five years ended 1900 was 33·7 per 1,000 ; but it rose in 1901 to 36². The unhealthy season in the Panjab was the autumn, and deaths in October corresponded to an average annual rate of 51 per 1,000 in the ten years 1891-1900. March and April were by far the healthiest months³.

Infirmities. Whereas in 1881, 72 persons in every 10,000 were returned as afflicted, in the 1901 census only 42 were so registered. The total population afflicted was as follows.

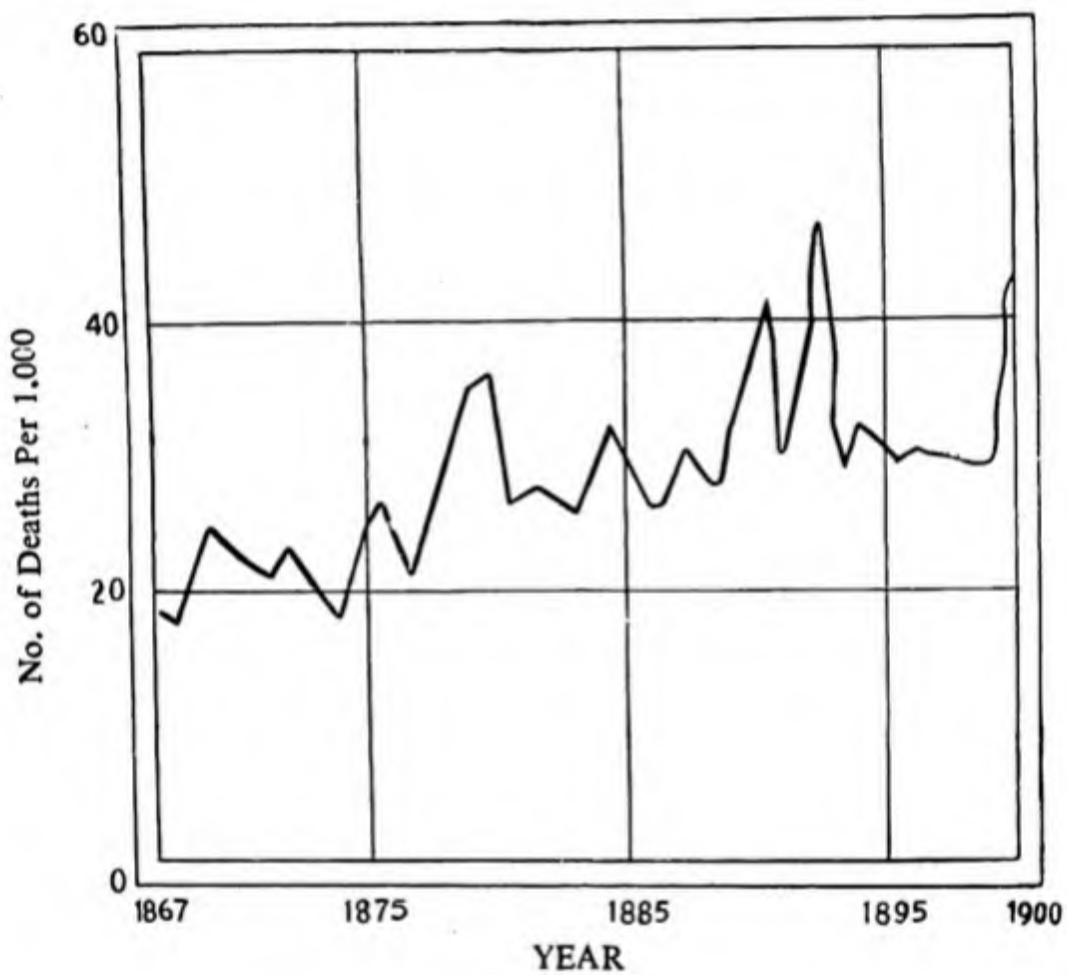
	1901	1891	1881
Insane	9,206	7,388	10,997
Deaf-mutes	21,491	24,369	26,943
Blind	78,261	85,217	116,003
Lapers	5,036	6,271	9,734
Total	113,994	123,245	163,677

Most of the insanes came from the agriculturist classes, though probably not an undue proportion of the total in proportion to their number. Faqirs supplied a large number, because in the nature of things lunatics, who were popularly regarded as semi-sacred, turned faqir and lived by mendicancy. Insanity was most common in the south-western districts and next most common in the hilly districts, where goitre, which was

1. Home 1885, Sanitary, Feb., 86 to 91 (Report on Sanitary and Vaccine Deptt. for 1883).

2. Census 1901, pp. 44-48 ; I. G. I. Vol. XX, 282 ; Report on the Sanitary Adm. of the Panjab-1887. The average death rate for the five years ending 1873 recorded by the Sanitary Adm. Report of 1873 was, however, only 28 per mile. Death rate during 1873 was 25 per mile which had decreased from 27 per mile in 1882. (Home-1885, Sanitary, Feb., 86-89). In 1887, the Death-rate recorded by Sanitary Administration Report was 34·31 per mille which is close to the figure quoted here.

3. Census 1901 p. 293 ; I. G. I., vol. XX. p. 282.



always accompanied with cretinism prevailed. The figures in 1901 made it clear that religion was not among the causes which affected the liability to insanity. Insanity showed an apparent increase, but this infirmity was often confused with deaf-mutism, which showed a marked decrease. From 1868 there was uninterrupted increase in the proportion of blind people in the Panjab. No data were available as to the causes of blindness; small-pox was known however, to be a frequent cause. The number of lepers showed a marked decrease from the figures of 1868. But it was hazardous perhaps to conjecture that leprosy was on the verge of disappearance¹.

The disease returned in the Panjab as most fatal to life was fever. In this malady people vaguely included most disorders accompanied by abnormally high temperature. But making all the due allowances for this fact, malarial fever was unquestionably the most fatal disease throughout the province. The death-rate fluctuated greatly. Cholera was hardly endemic, though a year seldom passed without an outbreak, and occasionally a local epidemic. Small-pox was endemic, but owing to the wide extension of vaccination it was not very fatal to life. The first outbreak of plague occurred in October, 1897, in a village of Jullundur district. In November, 1900, it broke out in Gurdaspur and soon spread to the neighbouring district of Sialkot. In 1901 outbreaks occurred in several districts².

The Civil Medical Department was organised in 1880. In 1900 a central asylum for lunatics was constructed at Lahore at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs. At Kasauli, a Pasteur Institute was established in 1901 for the treatment of persons bitten by rabid animals. The practice of inoculation as protection from small-pox had prevailed in the Panjab from time immemorial. The system of selling quinine through post offices was first introduced in the Delhi Division in 1894. It was extended in 1899 to that of Lahore, but in 1901 the total sales only amounted to 193 parcels, each containing 102 five-grain packets of quinine. It was considered inadvisable to legislate for the compulsory sanitation of villages, but district boards were empowered to grant rewards in the form of a reduction of revenue to villages most active in sanitary improvements³. The old belief that the number of man's days and the sickness that he

1. Census 1881, pp. 408 to 418; Census 1901, pp. 293-295; I. G. I., vol. XX p. 282.

2. I. G. I. P., vol. i, pp. 43-44; I. G. I., vol. XX, pp. 282-283; Sanitary Administration Report for 1876.

3. I. G. I. P., vol. i, pp. 144-147.

endures are fixed by the decree of fate was a great obstacle to sanitary reform¹.

Still as it looked, the Panjabis generally enjoyed good health and were very fond of gymnastic exercise².

(8)

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

The first regular census of the Panjab showed in 1881 that of the male population of over 15 years of age 53·6 percent followed purely agricultural and pastoral pursuits, while another 1·5 percent combined cultivation with other occupations.

In the villages the agriculturists numbered 60 percent of the whole, while in the east and the centre of the Panjab they were largely assisted by agricultural village menials that formed another 7 percent of the village population. Besides these cultivating menials, other village menials paid for the most part by a share of the produce constituted another 6 per cent ; so that not less than 73 percent of the whole village population, and at the very least 16 percent of the town population, depended almost, if not quite entirely, for their subsistence upon the varying nature of the seasons and upon the produce of the field. Of the remaining village population 3 percent were priests and professional men, whose income also depended largely upon a favourable harvest ; 5 percent belonged to the mercantile and money-lending class whose livelihood was comparatively secure, 7 percent were artisans such as weavers and the like, whose income was always small but not directly dependent upon the seasons, though distress and high prices did always affect soonest the poor classes ; while 4 percent were coolies and day-labourers dependent for bare subsistence upon each day's chances and another 4 percent were beggars and faqirs. Government and domestic service accounted for 3 per cent.

Of the adult male population of the towns 16 percent was purely agricultural and pastoral, while a considerable proportion of the menials in the smaller towns were paid according to the outturn of the harvest. Some 10½ percent belonged to the mercantile, 2½ percent to the carrying and 3 percent to the priestly and professional classes, all of whom were tolerably secure of their livelihood, as were most of the 4½ percent who worked and dealt in articles of food. Government and domestic-service provided employment to 17½ percent, while about 8 percent were

1. Report on the Sanitary Administration of the Panjab, 1869.
2. Honigheger, John Martin—Thirty five years in the East—(1905), p. 171.

chiefly employed in serving the wealthier classes and were not so wholly dependent as many others upon the fluctuations of trade and of the labour market. Ordinary artisans constituted $12\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the whole, and were as a rule comfortably off according to their position in life, but the weaving classes, who comprised 8 percent more, were often miserably poor. The day labourers who were seldom certain of a day's food in advance constituted 10 percent of the whole urban population, while the faqirs and beggars amounted to another 4 percent, leaving only $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent unaccounted for¹.

In the Census Report of 1891 and that of 1901, more reliable figures were given and according to them the general distribution of occupations was :—

Class	1901	1891
Government	2.1	2.4
Agriculture	58.05	58.5
Personal Services ... (household and sami)	6.88	6.4
Artisans	19.37	21.7
Commerce	4.54	3.3
Professions	2.21	3.2
Unskilled Labour	3.56	4.6
Independent	3.29	

Artisans who formed 21.7 percent in 1891 and 19.37 percent in 1901, were accounted for as :—

Occupations	Total		Increase or decrease percent
	1901	1891	
Masons and builders ...	109,808	96,977	13.3
Carpenters and black-smiths	662,585	573,403	15.5
Goldsmiths	126,196	159,346	20.8
Leather-workers	767,795	688,656	11.5
Potters	281,526	269,756	4.5
Tailors etc.	145,961	136,721	6.7
Woolen-Industries	38,086	32,057	18.8
Cotton weavers	914,797	1,067,451	14.3

The figures showed a big decrease in the number of goldsmiths in 1901, but it was not real, it was remarked, though no definite proof could be forwarded for it².

1. Census 1881, pp. 390—391.

2. Census 1901, pp. 360—362.

One thing, however, has to be noticed here. (Although we have been able to discuss figures for separate occupations as returned by the Census reports), in the Punjab we did not have a differentiation of occupations such as existed in England. In the towns alone, division of labour was carried out to a certain extent, but even there the great mass of the artisans worked not in factories or for capitalists or large employers of labour, but as private and individual workmen, each man beginning, carrying on, and completing the articles which he produced. The same man commonly followed several callings, the oil-presser scutched cotton and slaughtered and dressed sheep¹.

Another striking fact that was noticed in 1901 is that out of the total population of 26,842,611 souls in the province, 16,592,910 or nearly 62 percent, were dependants. This was a high ratio of non-workers and though the line between the entirely dependants and partial dependants had not been strictly drawn, the figures, it was asserted, represented an approximation to the truth².

Children of course shared the fortunes of their parents. Those of the poorer classes were set to work as soon as they had the necessary intelligence, while the children of husbandmen tended cattle and performed similar light duties from a very early age. As they grew older the work became harder, till they entered into the full inheritance of that almost incessant though not always very arduous toil which was the lot of the immense majority of the population of the Panjab³. But the case of women was different.

Nothing impressed an Indian visitor to Europe more than the extent to which women there were employed, and there was no greater obstacle to progress in India than the prejudice against the rational employment of women in occupation to which they were naturally suited. A great source of national wealth was thus lost to the country. They were too much the menials of the social system, and in addition to household work, many of them toiled in the fields, while the lower classes were of little more account than burden-bearing animals. They span everywhere, and everywhere their shoulder arms were strained over the quern, grounding corn for the family. In the Panjab their homely embroidery had attracted the attention of Europeans, and was growing into a trade. On the Derajat frontier Biloch women wove admirable rugs and camel saddle bags, ornamenting them with cowries. At Dera Ismail Khan

1. Census 1881, p. 376.

2. Census 1901, p. 365.

3. Census 1881, p. 391.

they traced the delicate fern-like ornament seen on lacquered wood. Women of the Mochi caste frequently worked at shoe-binding; and some of the potter caste modeled earthenware toys. But the number of trades in which women were regularly employed was small¹.

Of the total female population of over 15 years of age in the Census of 1881, 76 percent had no occupation returned for them. Of the rest not all were actual workers. Some only helped their husbands in their occupations². In 1901, only 10·6 percent of the total population of women were found to be actual workers and their employments were practically confined to personal and household services. In other words, women when employed at all or allowed to earn a living had to work at the most degrading and roughest occupations. Figures for cities in this respect were not much different from those for villages³.

1. *Journal of Indian Art*, Oct., 1884, No. 4, p. 4.

2. Census 1881, p. 391.

3. Census 1901, p. 266.

People, Their Life and Their Manners (*Contd.*)

(1)

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

AT annexation, what attracted attention the most, was the prevalence of village communities in the Panjab. Village community was a body of proprietors who under the British rule or formerly owned part of the village lands in common, and were jointly responsible for the payment of the revenue¹. The members of the proprietary body in a true village community were often united by real or assumed tie of kinship and they were reluctant to admit strangers among them². The affairs of the brotherhood were managed by an informal village council or panchayat³.

In the Panjab, everywhere, whether it was an Afghan tribe, or a Gujar, Rajput, or Jat, Awan, or Khokar family, that had established itself and divided into village-group, there was undoubtedly a strong landlord feeling a sense of proprietorship running throughout the boundaries of the estate—boundaries known by the old traditions, and later on defined by the British Settlement Officers⁴. But besides the land owners, there were hereditary artisans, menials etc., to make the village community self-sufficing. Where the land was abundant and the proprietary body small out-siders might be voluntarily admitted. In this case landowners were fortunate if they could secure some small grain fee at harvest as an acknowledgement of their superior title. Residents who were not land-owner sometimes paid petty fees to the latter as a body or to their headmen, periodically, or on special occasions such as marriages⁵.

Houses of the members of the brotherhood and of their dependants were usually built close together in some convenient part of the village. The houses of the village menials were usually placed on the outskirts of

1. L. S. B. I., 1892, vol. i, p. 69.

2. S. M. paras—126 and 127.

3. Ibid, para 129.

4. L. S. B. I., vol. ii, pp. 617—619.

5. S. M., pr. 30.

the abadi¹, and those occupied by men of impure castes sometimes occupied a separate site or sites at a little distance from it².

These village communities were a distinguishing mark in the plains of the Eastern and Central Panjab. In their purest form they were found in the south-east of the Province and here, ancestral shares or some other definite measure of right, such as ploughs, was recognized³.

In the Pathan tract lying mainly beyond the Indus, there were some curious customs among the village communities to be noticed. Here, when a tract was occupied by an invading tribe a partition took place. The lot of each main sub-division of tribe was further divided equitably among its individual members and to secure a continuance of the original equality of condition, it was customary to make a vesh for redistribution of the land by lot at fixed intervals, if a majority of the community so desired. In some localities the redistribution took place at fixed intervals which varied from 3 to 5, 7, 10, 15, and 30 years. Nor were these redistributions confined to the proprietors of a single village. This system of redistribution was sometimes a source of serious dispute and owing to this system, reforms on land were impossible, because no body would work on them when he knew that his labour were to be enjoyed by others. A portion of the village or tribal land was often set apart for enjoyment of the village or tribal jirga who managed all matters connected with the community⁴. In the arid tract, the right in water was more valued than the right in the soil and it was, therefore, usually carefully divided in accordance with ancestral, or at least ancient, share⁵.

The Weakening Communal Tie. These village communities in the Panjab had attracted the appreciation, and the ambition of the early British officers in panjab was to preserve them. Thus joint responsibility for the payment of land revenue became a prominent feature of village tenures under the British, though it occupied a far more prominent position in theory than in practice. So great was the early predilection in favour of the village communities that even the scattered hamlets of the submontane ravines and the still more scattered wells⁶ of the south-

1. Inhabited site of village.

2. S. M., pr. 131.

3. This does not apply to the Hissar district a great part of which was a wild tract occupied by a sparse and shifting population of graziers and shepherds—S. M., pr. 148.

4. S. M., Prs. 157—164 ; L. S. B. I., vol. ii, pp. 636—638 ; A. R. 1872—73, p. 12.

5. L. S. B. I., vol. i, pp. 643—645 ; S. M. pr. 160.

6. Here rainfall being extremely scanty, tillage was very large dependant on wells which were, hence, the unit of property. See—S. M. pr. 165 ; L. S. B. I., vol. ii, pp. 657—665.

western desert were grouped in artificial villages, which were made jointly responsible for the payment of the land revenue¹. To represent the village community in its dealings with government officials, a few of the leading members of the old committee of elders² were selected as hereditary village headmen, their most important revenue function being to collect the revenue from the village proprietors and pay it into the treasury³.

Generally too, the conditions for the joint village⁴ were more favourable in Panjab than they were in the North-West Provinces, where the sentiment of joint-landlordship seemed to be fast decaying⁵. There was in the Panjab, a total absence of communities deriving their origin from the revenue-farmer or auction-purchasers. The villages were almost everywhere due to foundation by colonists or tribes of superior strength and character, most of whom were agriculturists; and they seemed to have retained more than elsewhere the sense of union and the power of maintaining their original status. Governed still by custom, they had hardly emerged, at least in many districts, from the stage when the feeling that land belongs as much to the family as to the individual was prominent. The law did not allow of a perfect partition, *i.e.* dissolving the joint responsibility, except at settlement and under special conditions. There was rather a strong law of pre-emption which generally enabled any one in the village body to prevent an outsiders from purchasing land. The customary law still restricted widows to a life tenure, and prevented them from alienating; while in many tribes a childless male proprietor could not alienate to the prejudice of his next heirs without their consent. There was also in many parts a strong 'clanish' feeling which kept village together.

Nevertheless, the power of free sale and mortgage was producing its

1. S. M. Prs. 17, 100—1, 186 and 198—9; L. S. B. I., vol. ii, pp. 609—10, 616 and 624.

2. The Panchayat.

3. S. M., Pr. 130.

4. Incidentally it may here be mentioned that there were two types of villages found in India. One where the landholders were disconnected aggregates of families each claiming but its own holding; the other was where a class in the village or it may be the entire body, claimed to be a superior order, descendants of former rulers or colonising founders, or conquerors, or grantee, or, later on, of revenue farmers and auction purchasers who claimed jointly the entire estate. The former which was known as Raiyatwari or Non-Landlord type of village, prevailed over the whole of Madras, Bombay and Central India; while the latter which was known as the joint or Landlord village type; prevailed in the North—West Provinces and Oudh, and in the Panjab. (L. S. B. I., vol. i, pp. 144—45.)

5. L. S. B. I., p. 168.

results : non-agricultural capitalists were buying up land and estates slowly underwent a change. Strangers were introduced ; the village site enlarged and the non-proprietary classes successfully resisted the payment of dues to the proprietary body¹ and claimed the right to sell their houses. If large estates accumulated in the hands of individuals, they would again become joint if the heirs were numerous, and then, as the property would be not in one village, the estate would more and more cease to be synonymous with the village².

The village communities themselves found it increasingly difficult to retain the old vigour under the British administrative system. The committee of elders³, ignored in administrative matters by the revenue authorities, and in social matters by the Civil Courts, lost its influence and practically ceased to exist. The administration of the village fund⁴, out of which the common expenses of the village brotherhood were met, was gradually usurped by the headmen⁵, though each member of the proprietary body had a theoretical right to demand an account of its expenditure⁶. Although certain features of the village community still remained, generally the tendency of the British administration and especially of the British legal system was to loosen the communal tie and to weaken the authority exercised by the proprietary body over its individual members and over the other inhabitants of the village⁷.

(2)

DWEILINGS

There were many superstitions connected with house building in the Panjab and one such was that a house with the front narrower than the back was called gaumukha or cow-faced and was lucky ; one with the front wider than the back was called sherdahan or tiger mouthed, and was unlucky⁸.

1. As an acknowledgement of the superior title of the land owners—see S. M., para 130.

2. L. S. B. I., vol. i, p. 169.

3. Panchayat which formerly managed the affairs of the brotherhood. Special position of the Lambardar along with the action of the British courts, stripped the committee of its influence (see below).

4. malba.

5. Formerly the affairs of the brotherhood were managed by the panchayat, a few leading members of which under the British rule, were selected as headmen or lambardars the most important of whose function was to collect the revenue from the comparcener and pay it into the treasury—S. M., Pr. 129.

6. S. M. pr. 129.

7. *ibid.* pr. 130.

8. P. N. Q., vol. i, Oct. 1883, p. 3.

For the better quality of house as for the ordinary ones in the Panjab, there were generally no plans and no estimates, but the money was found as it was wanted and edifice slowly but a surely ascended. Ordinary peasant's house, however, was not uncomfortable, though hardly attractive¹.

Houses of the poorer classes of agriculturists all over the plains require no special description; they were invariably made either of sun-dried bricks smeared over with a mixture of mud and cow-dung, or more often the wall was built up somewhat irregularly by plastering cake over cake of mud, the outer coating being mixed with chopped straw (bhusa) and cow-dung to make it bind. Small low hoods, with a couple of rudely made wooden flaps for a door, and perhaps window with a wooden shutter were thus built; they were roofed, with poles either chil (pine) "balis" where procurable, or stems of small sized mulberry, kikar, and shisham trees; over these tiles were laid, a "sirki" (a sort of thatch of the munj grass) and then mud was plastered outside. The roof was made strong enough to bear a few people on it, and had a raised edge all round, with a wooden gutter pipe to draw off water. In the wealthy villages, houses constructed of burnt bricks were more frequent, and were then built with two storeys. A kacha (cutcha) house consisted of a sort of verandha in front and one or more little dark rooms behind; they had no fire place, and not even a hole for smoke, as the people generally lighted fire outside and only used a chafing-dish of hot embers inside.

Where the houses had to accomodate several members of a family, the rooms and verandah were ranged round the side of a small court-yard or "sahn" which was approached by one door in common to the whole.

An ordinary house was known by the name of "ghar" or "makan" and a large mansion was called "haveli". The latter generally had an entrance gate, at each end of which were rooms in which porters or servants could live; over this was the entrance called "deora", and inside was the sahn round which, were the rooms of the family and the ladies' apartments; every house had a good roof space with access by stairs; the roof adjoining the women's apartments was protected at the edge by a high screen made of perforated stone-work, or slates of tiling perforated in imitation of stone.

On the roofs of the large houses various small and often oddly shaped rooms were constructed, looking like towers and turrets from below.

1. *Journal of Indian Art*, Oct. 1885, No. 8, p. 58; *I. G. I. P.*, vol. i, p. 55.

These were constructed for coolness, and to enable the inmates to enjoy the evening or the morning breeze. The shape of houses was often strangely irregular, and the building looked as if it had been added to piece by piece without reference to any general design. A house intended for business or for the temporary residence of men, was constructed perhaps with a few rooms or open shops on the ground floor and a large room above opening on to the street and separated from it only by a low balustrade and certain wooden lattices which could be closed up with shutters. Such a building was called "*baitak*".

A square court-yard furnished with a separate gate and fitted with stalls for horses and cattle, and rooms for servants and "*syees*" or grooms, was called "*tabela*". One was always either attached to a large house or built separately for the use of house¹.

Houses in the Hills. Houses in the Hills exhibited more variety than those in the plains, and they had also to stand harder usage. There was often heavy rain, and every winter snow, many feet in thickness. Substantial walls, and pent roofs far projecting over the edge of the house were, therefore, the features of these houses, in most of the districts ; but flat roofs were not uncommon, even in districts where snow fell.

Stone was invariably used by itself or with mud; or where there was a timber frame work, stones were filled in between. A great portion of the front of every house, including the upper verandah, was made of wood work².

Chamba, Pangi etc. In Chamba city the houses were made of wooden frames filled with slabs of the schistose slaty stone that abounded, in that particular style of masonry called "*tattar chul*". The buildings were made up of layers of stones and beams of wood and at the corner there was a sort of frame work of wood, one beam being furnished with a tenon and other with a mortise (*chul*) to receive it. The central part of the wall had many beams of wood occasionally introduced between the layers of stone : this kind of building was to be found all over the hill. The Chamba houses were built up with stones at the sides of the top, and were two storeys or even three high ; the front was generally made of wood ; the beams on the first floor projected and formed a support for a sort of verandah, which invariably fronted each floor and made the whole

1. Powell, vol. *ii*, p. 322—324 and All the District Settlement Reports and Gazetteers published during the period have been consulted, the accounts of houses given for the different districts of the plains differ little from one another.

2. See Powell, vol. *ii*, pp. 322—324.

house look as if made of wood ; the first floor of the ground had generally the best apartments, and the pillars and railings were sometimes prettily, though rudely, carved. The roof was pent-shaped, with projecting curves and covered with large irregular and thick slates held by wooden pegs, but often by shingles or slabs of pine-wood not sawn but split.

In the villages of Chamba, the houses were smaller, built up with mud and stones, having only one storey above the ground floor. The upper one had a wooden verandah or open front with pillars, which could be boarded up in the cold season. In the "Chaurah" district flat roofs were common, and mud stones plastered over smooth and afterwards coloured with whitewash or some coloured earth work, were generally adopted. In the higher hill districts flat roofs were not so common, and pent roofs predominated. In Pangi the houses of the few wealthy or inhabitants of the "kotis" or official houses of the Chamba State, were built of stone and timber in the "tattar chul" style ; they had two or three storeys, sometimes furnished with open verandahs, but always on the side facing the inner enclosure ; on the outside they presented a plain fort-like appearance, with windows higher up furnished with sun-shades or small hanging balconies prettily carved. They had sloping roofs, slated or shingled.

The capital of the Chamba State was, however, most transformed towards the close of the 19th century, by the extensive building operations carried out by the State and private persons. The new houses in the town were better built, and greater regard was paid to ventilation and light. The windows were then considered essential.

The house in Pangi was small as a rule, having one ground floor, the rooms of which were dark and low ; this was built of stones and mud, or rarely stones and timber, and had a door and windows : over this was a second storey, a room built entirely of wood¹.

A Kulu village, viewed from some little distance, usually presented both a picturesque appearance and an air of solid comfort. The site had probably not been selected with a view either to effect as to drainage or sanitation. The houses were not unlike those in Chamba, but in no part of the valley were they like the Pangi houses. The Kulu houses had generally only one storey above the ground floor, built much as before described, but there were houses with two storeys. The lower storey was built of stones carefully plastered over and whitewashed ; it was approached and also the rafters forming the first floor above that projected a

1. D. G. Chamba State, 1904, p. 208 ; Powell, vol. ii, pp. 326—327.

good way out, forming the verandah roof to the lower floor, in as much as the front, composed wholly of pine planks, was brought up to the extreme edge of the aforesaid rafters, two large square apertures were cut in that boarded front; the rafters forming in the roof of the storey again projected, and on it was built a second but very low garret storey, also of wood: the two ends of the house were of stone and plaster upto the top. The roof was pent and projected a very long way over the building all round giving a peculiar picturesque appearance¹.

Towards Plach, and in the neighbourhood of the Mandi State, the character of the houses altered. Every house was tall, square, broad based, and slightly smaller at the top than at the base; it had a pent roof, or rarely a flat one, and looked like a fort; the lower storey consisted of bare walls of stone plastered over and coloured with white-yellow or grey earth; no entrance was to be had, and no window seen but habitation appeared to commence about 9 or 10 feet above, when the rafters of the second floor projected all round and formed the floor of the verandah which surrounded the rooms inside: this verandah floor had no balustrade and rarely the pillars attaching it to the roof or to the verandah above (unless there was a second storey²).

In the remote districts of Spiti the houses exhibited a new peculiarity. The house here generally, had a small central court which was surrounded on three sides by the buildings containing the living-rooms etc., and was closed in the fourth by a wall in which was the entrance door. The buildings were two storeyed on two or sometimes on all three sides. The roof was flat. The ground-floor consisted chiefly of quarter for the cattle, but it also contained at least one large room in which the family spent most of their time in the winter. Devoid of windows, like the cattle stalls and other apartments on the ground-floor, this room was warmer in that season than the upper storey, which was little used except in summer, was good-sized room, lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters. The walls were white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots³.

In Simla Hill States, the house of an ordinary zamindar in the lower hills was one-storeyed, white-washed, and thatched, but this type was not found in Bashahr. In the Sutlej valley, about and below Rampur, the

1. Selection from the Records, New Series, No. 10—The Himalayan Districts and Kulu etc., Capt. A. F. P. Harcourt, p. 46; Powell, vol. ii, p. 328; D. G. Kangra, Part ii, 1897, p. 30.

2. Powell, vol. ii, p. 329.

3. D. G. Kangra, Part ii, 1897, p. 79.

houses were similar to those of the villages around Simla, two-storeyed and roofed with slates or shingles. Higher up still the houses had three storeys, of which the lower was used for the cattle, the middle as a store-house and winter sleeping room, and the upper, which was surrounded by a broad verandah, was the general living place of the family. The roofs of these buildings were carved and sloping. In Kanawar the two-storeyed house was reverted to, and this generally had a flat roof¹.

Ordinary peasant's house whether in the plains or in the hills, was not uncomfortable, but the one fact to which almost all the district reports agree is that, the people cared little for sanitation. Thus Jhelum reports say, inside, the houses were in general scrupulously clean. "In the matter of ventilation, however, the houses leave a good deal to be desired²."

The people had their own ways of decorating the houses. Thus in Delhi a good wife in the village, generally, adorned her kothi with fantastic representations of peacocks, parrots, or other birds, done in chalk or red earth³.

Houses inside, were generally clean, but the village as a whole did not always present a good scene. Thus in Lahore, outside the ring of houses, the environs of all villages, whatever the class of inhabitants, were much the same. Filth and smells were unpleasantness which had to be accepted as part of the village constitution⁴.

A zamindar's house was generally, we may say in the words of Jullundur District Gazetteer, not roomy enough for much furniture, and he had not much to boast⁵ of. The furniture of an ordinary house was cheap and simple, comprising a few string beds, stools, boxes, spinning wheels, and cooking utensils, with a grain-receptacle of mud. If the owner be rich there would also be carpets and masand etc⁶.

Changes Under the British Rule. Number of occupied houses under the British rule increased⁷. The style and comforts of the people's dwellings also improved, the houses now built were more commodious and the furniture was better. In place of earthen vessels, the people

1. D. G. Simla Hill States, 1910, p. 43.

2. D. G. Jhelum, 1904, p. 141 ; see also D. G. Kangra, part *ii*, p. 30.

3. D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 94.

4. D. G. Lahore, 1893—94, p. 73 ; also see D. G. Sialkot, 1883—84, p. 33.

5. D. G. Jullundur, 1904, p. 140.

6. Monograph (Wood Manufacture) 1889, p. 14.

7. See Density—Chapter II.

increasingly began to use copper vessels. The houses of the educated classes began to be furnished more in conformity with the European ideas. The tendency to replace old structure of mud and wood by structures of bricks in the villages was, however, practically confined to the village trading class, though occasionally a jat, especially if he was a village headman, would re-build pukka. In most of the old types of houses the kothi, chaurasia, or bharola, the receptacle for storing grain, was a feature of the dwelling-house in all parts of the province, but under the British rule the facilities of transport, high prices and certain other causes, were causing the custom of storing the grain to be abandoned and thus the receptacle seemed to be disappearing. Amount of building done in the cities under the British rule was considerable and this was notably the case in Amritsar, which seemed to have been half-rebuilt within the last twenty years of the 19th century. The desire to rebuild was perhaps to some extent fostered in towns generally by the Hindu idea that it was lucky to be always repairing or adding to the house (in Ludhiana). There was, however, a curious taboo against the brick building amongst certain tribes of the sub-montane tract in Sialkot and Gurdaspur and there was also a customary rule in some Mahommedan villages that no house could be built of brick until the village mosque had been built¹.

In spite of some incongruities, wrote Capt. R.C. Temple in 1885 : "I venture to think that the indigenous forms, endeared to the people for centuries of tradition, will not be lightly set aside²," and this was confirmed in 1901 when it was reported for the decade 1891 to 1901 that, generally, no marked change in the style of living or in the type of house had occurred³.

A separate note may here be added on the architecture that was connected more with the dwellings of the ruling and other such classes than with those of the ordinary agriculturists. Generally, it may here be mentioned, the bricks of Hindu antique work, were often of immense size and showed elaborate modelling of ornament and figures. Mahommedan brick was not so thick and in choice work it was carefully rubbed smooth and laid⁴. Vast thickness and solidity characterised the brick structure of the latter Mughal empire of the 15th and 17th centuries, and the abundant use of a most solid and tenacious mortar, which so caked

1. D. G. Hazara, 1883—86, pp. 50—51.

2. The Journal of Indian Art, 1885, No. 8, p. 60.

3. Census 1901, p. 26.

4. Journal of Indian Arts, No. 21—24, pp. 59—60.

the bricks together that when it had been desired under the British rule to remove a fallen mass of such masonry, the workman's iron pick proved unequal to the task of separating the materials and mass had to be blasted with powder like a rock. Such cement was made by obtaining the best lime free of all ash and impurity, which was not obtainable under the British rule¹. With the English rule bricks of English sizes were introduced, together with English and Italian patterns of roofing tile. The practice of carving burnt brick was common in Panjab. Finials, moulding, small ornamental columns, and the tabernacles in door-jambs in which lamps were placed, were skilfully wrought. But plasterer's business was being lowered in quality. In the architecture of former times, large broken surfaces seldom occurred, and great skill was displayed in shaping moulding and modelling ornaments by hand. Under the British rule, the chief requirement was to float long surfaces. This art had not been learnt, while the decorative faculty was forgotten².

(3)

COSTUMES OF THE PANJAB

The Panjab territories were made up of tracts of country so wonderfully different in climate, physical appearance, and geographical position, that it was not surprising to find the utmost differences among the dresses of the various races inhabiting the province³.

The dress of the people was, on the whole, of the simplest kind and in the plains it was made entirely of cotton cloth. A turban, a lion-cloth, a loose wrap, thrown round the body like a plaid, and, in the cold season, a vest jacket of some kind, were the usual garments. White was the usual colour, but dyed stuffs were often worn, especially on festive occasions. As a rule, Mahommedans avoided red, while sayyads and others claiming descent from the Prophet, favoured green. Hindus similarly avoided blue, but it was the characteristic dress of Sikh zealots, like the Akalis. The Sikhs, particularly, according to Charles Masson, to their honour were very cleanly in their linen, "in which particular they advantageously differ from their Mussulman compatriots".

Women were far more conservative ; but the influence of Islam had brought about the adoption of the trouser instead of the Hindu skirt, which was in general use only in the south-east. Thus Rajput women,

1. Powell, vol. ii, p. 322.

2. *Journal of Indian Arts*, Nos. 21—24, pp. 59—60.

3. Powell, vol. ii, p. 101.

Hindu as well as Mahommedan, wore the trouser, and Gujars the petticoat, while many Sikh and Hindu Jat women wore both. In the wilder part of the central area the skirt was little more than a kilt, but the more elaborate garment was coming into fashion. The light bodice was essentially a Hindu woman's garment, the looser shirt a Mahommedan characteristic. The wrap or chadar was universally worn; and the parda system compelled most Mahommedan, and many Hindu and Sikh ladies of the better classes, to wear, when compelled to leave the house, an ungainly and uncomfortable veil (burka) which covered the whole body¹.

Minor variation in dress were innumerable, some more interesting of which only may here be mentioned.

The Head-dress. In Lahore, Amritsar and other similar districts, "pagri" or a turban was a head dress of men, which in the case of Hindus, especially banyas and shop-keepers, was closely bound in regular folds on the head, the proper binding of which was an art itself. Others who did not wear the pagri chose loose full turban wound on without any particular care, and called "dastar". Sikhs sometimes wore the pagri, sometimes the "dastar", but Sikh gentlemen often wore a double turban. A small close fitting turban (coloured) called "safa" came down over the forehead, and a loose dastar, generally white, or of a different colour to the safa, was so disposed as to show a little bit of it underneath and just over the forehead; the effect, when the colours were well assorted was pleasing. A class called Nihangs or Akalis among the Sikhs, wore a turban of dark blue colour, carrying three steel flat rings and also certain short knife-like pieces of steel stuck into the body of the turban. Mahommedans wore a dastar usually, or else a large loosely folded turban of shawl or scarf material; called "amama" or "shamla". The large turbans formed by endless coils of muslin tightly twisted into a rope were called by the same name².

In Shahpur District, size of the turban depended much on the social position of the wearer, and increased with his importance³. In Kangra two or more turbans of different colours were artistically mixed together, and bound round the head so as to display the colours to advantage, and to fall in heavy yet graceful folds over the right ear. The usual mixture was a red ground with a white exterior turbans, and the effect was always becoming. Like all other fashions, it was sometimes ludicrously exagger-

1. I. G. I. P., vol. i, 54—55; see also Masson Charles (Narrative of various journeys...), vol. i, 1842, pp. 433—434.

2. Powell, vol. ii, pp. 101 etc.

3. S. R. Shahpur—Major Davies, pp. 33—35.

rated and sometimes as many as seven turbans of different hues, not very judiciously chosen, were wrapped round the head of a hill dandy¹.

In Spiti some wore a kind of Scotch cap, the loose top of which hanged down over the neck² and in Kulu a species of skull-cap, with a border round the neck and ears³. The woollen caps of the men in Kulu were red with an up-turned border of black or wholly black⁴. In the Chaurah District of Chamba the cap had a deep rim which was turned upwards, and the rim being cut through in front ended in two projecting points into the top of the cap. In Dera Ismail Khan, a cotton cap was worn under the pagri, three of the latter being made by dividing a 'than' or piece of muslin into three pieces down its length⁵. A round cap or topai was worn in Peshawar either under the pagri or alone, but to the south of the district the kullah or peaked cap was also found⁶. A class of Muslim faqirs, called Banawa, wore a sort of white high cap worked over with blue thread, and some of the Baba Nanak's fakirs wore ordinary turban while several length of hair rope were bound.

For the head-dress of the women it may be said that in the districts like Lahore and Amritsar, women had a large dopata or scarf, which was gracefully folded over the head and covered almost the whole body. Wives of Kashmiri traders in the districts, had a small cap on the head, and a veil called 'burka'. In Sirsa the scarf was sometimes embroidered on the edges with silk⁷. In Kulu, the women wore woollen caps, having a fringe on the top which hanged as a tassel on one side, and their long black or dark-brown hair plaited into one tress, and lengthened with brown worsted, was turned up behind and twisted round the cap⁸. Women in Spiti wore caps on their heads, but over each ear was arranged a large flop or lappet of cloth covered with dyed wool and fastened over the braids of hair; and from the brow down the back to the waist was adjusted a broad band of red cloth, studded with large turquoises and other stones of very dubious value; this was termed the pirak⁹.

1. S. R. Kangra—Barnes, pp. 149—151; D. G. Kangra 1897, p. 86; D. G. Kangra 1883—84, p. 61.

2. Selections from Records, New Series, No. 10, p. 44; D. G. Kangra 1897, p. 36; also see Powell, vol. ii.

3. Selections from Records, New Series, No. 10, p. 43.

4. Moorcraft and Trebeck (*Travels on the Himalaya...*), p. 181.

5. D. G. Chamba State, vol. XXII A, 1904, p. 208; Powell, vol. ii.

6. D. G. Peshawar, 1897—98, p. 102.

7. Powell, vol. ii.

8. Moorcraft and Trebeck 1841, p. 181; D. G. Kangra, Part ii, 1897, p. 35.

9. Selections from Records, New Series, No. 10, p. 46; D. G. Kangra, Part IV, 1897, p. 81; see Powell, vol. ii.

The women of the "Chaurah" district of the Chamba Hills, wore a small cap of cotton cloth, with a triangular peak or tail hanging down behind. The crown of the high woollen cap of the women of the Pangi district of Chamba was broader than the base and hanged over. The small cap of the woman of the Buddhist village in Pangi lay in folds on the top of the head. In Banu the Waziri women generally wore on their heads a "sipata" of dark blue colour, and made of coarse cotton cloth locally known as "takrai". Old women did not wear blue cloth, but one dyed grey with earth ; and young women did not wear "sipatta," but another scarf called "jamai", which was white and embroidered with springs of coloured flowers ; for this a scarf called "lungi" was sometimes substituted. It was a striped cloth, in black and white, and with a silk border¹.

Other Clothes. Angarka in the cities like Lahore and Amritsar was a coat with a skirt, which was worn by Muslims of the higher rank. "Kamri" which was same as an "angarka" only half the length ; opened down the middle fastened by strings below the breast. It was worn by a caste called "Bajru" in Sirsa. Some higher classes in Kangra wore "paswaj" which was a cotton gown of very light texture almost approaching to muslin and made of various gay colours². The loose coat of the people in Spiti was of thick home-made blanket, with long skirts, belted round the waist with a coarse scarf. Everyone had an iron pipe stuck in his belt, a tobacco pouch with its flint and steel hanging to it ; and a little wooden bowl in the breast of his coat used as a drinking vessel³. The women of Spiti also wore a long gown like that of the men, but they had no pipe or flint. The "angarka" in Banu was a loose shirt made of coarse sheep's wool, either of its natural colour or white, on the breast of which the Waziri woman worked embroidered patterns in silk or cotton. The "angarkas" of the rich people here were made of white cotton cloth and were without reams. 'Kurti' in Kangra was a frock reaching to the waist and choli a similar garment extending somewhat lower like any ordinary shirt⁴.

Among the clothes worn round the waist, more interesting was 'Tahhmd', a sheet worn round the waist and tied up in a knot in front of the waist. It was worn instead of trousers by many working people in the plains. Trousers of Sikh gentlemen were light fitting and Sikh villagers

1. Powell, vol. ii.

2. S. R. Kangra—Barnes, pp. 149—151 ; D. G. Kangra, 1897, p. 86.

3. Selections from Records, New Series, No. 10, p. 45 ; D. G. Kangra part IV, pp. 80—81 ; Powell, vol. ii.

4. S. R. Kangra—Barnes, pp. 149—151 ; D. G. Kangra, 1897, p. 86.

wore short drawers coming down to the knees. Some Hindu shroffs or money changers and cloth-sellers wore 'dhotis' or large sheets tied up into two trousers. The white dhoti of the traders from Bikaner in the plains, was confined by a silver chain girdle furnished with a cap; the ends of the chain being visible and hanging down for ornament; such a chain was called "taragi". In Sirsa, the pajamas of the women were such of which the lower part fitted close round the leg, but being very long was gathered into folds of wrinkles; this article of clothing was called "pajama churidar"; a shirt was superadded called "lenga". "Mujla", in the Shahpur district was a piece of cloth about three yards long and a yard and a half wide, which was tied tightly round the waist by Mahommedans and allowed to hang in loose folds over the part of the body. "Kaliars", the chief camel owners of the Shahpur Tehsil were much given to wearing coloured "lungis" used as "mujlas". Mahommedan women also wore the "mujla" tying it somewhat differently to the men. The Hindu women of the Khatri class wore full trousers called "suttan²". Male members of the ordinary poorer classes in Kangra wore 'Kachh' or breeches, and long trousers here, were not in vogue³. In Kulu, women wore long leggings, which being far too long for the leg were worn gathered in folds round the leg, and this was for the sake of warmth in the winter. Such leggings were called "pauche". The pair of long loose trousers of women as in the case of men, were tucked into the boots, in Spiti. The trousers of men in Simla were rather baggy-tight at the ankles. Skirts of the Waziri women in Banu commenced just below the breast in a great many pleats, and reached down to the feet and when these women went out on a journey or to work in the fields they tied the end of this skirt up on to their backs. Trousers of the women here, fitted tight to the leg as far as the knee, and were loose above.

In Lahul the dress of the Lama of the Dengpa sect was curious, consisting of a jacket of dull red woollen cloth called stod-tse, trousers, a clock called blagas a "meditation band", which was a broad strip of red cloth, which was strained tightly across the shoulders and helped to sustain the devotee in the peculiar stooping posture he adopted when engaged in meditation. This belt was called smog-thog⁴.

Foot-Wears. With the exception of the coarse rough kinds, such as the 'bagri' shoe, which were only worn by agriculturists; the leather shoes

1. Powell, vol. ii.

2. S. R. Shahpur—Maj. Davies, pp. 33—35.

3. S. R. Kangra—Barnes, p. 149—151; D. G. Kangra, 1897, p. 86.

4. Powell, vol. ii.

besides being of various special shapes and forms could be ordinarily divided into three classes according to the amount of ornamentation upon them *i.e.*, completely covered with embroidery work or 'kamdar', partially covered like 'ded hashia' (one-and-a-half margin—so called because the ornamental work was supposed to go round three-quarters of the way on each side of the shoe) and plain or "sada". The ornamental work consisted of embroidery with gold and silver thread, spangles, black and green beetle's wings. Different kinds of shoes had different names with regard to their shapes, as 'Salem Shahi', the 'Dihliwal', 'Panjabi', 'Golpanja', 'Ganwaru', the 'Peshawari', 'Kashmiri' and 'Pothauri' etc. On the frontier instead of shoes leather and grass sandals were used¹.

Besides the leather shoes, the use of grass shoes in the hills was universal. In Kulu, shoes were made from bhang and were called 'pula'. Rice straw was used in Hazara, but such shoes only lasted for four or five days. Along the north-west frontier, dwarf palm was the material used for the sandals. Afridis, Mahommedans, Swatis and Bonerwals, all wore them².

The Looks. The commonest colours for all cotton stuffs in Panjab were indigo, blue, maddar or safflower, red and yellow. The clothes printed or stamped in colours were generally women's head coverings (chadars and ornis) and those intended for quilts³. The perception of colour among the Panjabis, appeared purely intuitive; they had an empiric knowledge of what the elementary colours are; and knew that setting one beside its contemporary throws out both to the greatest affect, but they had no knowledge of the principles of colouring, and hence it not seldom happened that their colour degenerated into glare, and there contrasted into gaudiness⁴. Gold ribbon (ghota, kinara etc.) were largely used in trimming dresses, of both the men and the women. Gold thread and tinsel-wire were used in embroidery for the dresses of wealthy, the native ladies and of public dancers. Small skull caps covered with gold work and tinsel were much worn on gala days, especially by children⁵. The dresses with shishadar phulkaris⁵, viz. the forms in which a striking effect was produced by the insertion of circular pieces of looking-glass

1. Monograph (leather industry), 1893. pp. 29—30; Powell, vol. *ii*, pp. 134—135 and 107—108.

2. Monograph (Fibrous Manufacture), 1891, p. 14; Selection from Records, New Series, No. 13, pp. 43—45.

3. Monograph (Cotton Manufacture), 1885, p. 6.

4. Powell, vol. *ii*, p. XIII.

5. Phulkari means a flowering work, and might therefore be applied to any embroidery.

within the design, were also used¹.

Jewellery. A woman's social position in the Panjab was greatly determined by her jewels and the love of jewellery was not confined to the people of any religion, sect or class². The dress of the Panjabi women, which left a greater part of the body bare than in colder climate, gave more room for personal adornment with ornaments. Want of worldly means did not stand in the way of satisfying this vanity, for such ornaments were made of all sorts of material, from the cheapest bangles made of lac, glass or brass, to the most valuable gold necklace, thickly studded with pearls and diamonds. Although the love of finery had been, in some cases, carried to an absurd lengths, so that it was often painful for one unaccustomed to such sights to behold a peasant woman labouring in the field loaded with a heavy weight of bangles and anklets, made of solid brass, without any pretension to being artistic or ornamental, still some of the cheap trinkets were so well made as to deserve to be classed within the domain of fine art³.

Gold ornaments were confined mainly to the richer classes, whereas silver was the material of which almost all the ornaments of the lower or agricultural classes were made. Mr. Baden Powell gave a list of 99 names for ornaments in 1872, and this list was by no means exhaustive⁴. It is hardly necessary to say that jewellery was as much worn by men as women, but the kinds of jewellery worn by each were distinct in form and name. In the plains silver was much used but in the hills, the number of silver ornaments decreased and the men also wore much less jewellery. The women had their ornaments made of rough bits of amber, red coral, pebbles and glass. The head, forehead, ear, nose, neck, arms, finger and ankles were the main parts of the body adorned with ornaments⁵. Very curious ornaments were necklaces of the cubical crystals of rock salt, which the miners made at the Mayo Mines in the salt range at Kheevra, near Pind Dadan Khan⁶. Some Hindus had their front upper teeth pierced and little spikes of gold inserted; so that, when they had died there might be no difficulty in carrying out the custom of placing in the mouth,

1. *Indian Art at Delhi*—Sir George Watt, 1903, p. 376.

2. S. R. Panipat and Karnal, 1872—80, p. 125; D. G. Karnal, 1810, p. 82; S. R. Montgomery, 1878, p. 60.

3. *Journal of Indian Arts*, 1886, No. 14, p. 106; *The Journal of Indian Arts and Industry*, 1907, No. 98, p. 53.

4. *Monograph (Gold and Silver)*, 1890, pp. 31; see Appendix C.

5. Powell, vol. ii, pp. 175—192; D. G. Hissar, 1904, pp. 129—133.

6. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, April 1907, No. 98, p. 53.

gold, Ganges water, and a spring of the tulsi plant¹. "Churis" (bangles) of kanch (glass) were worn by both the Hindu and the Muslim women. Among the latter they were always worn by a bride on marriage².

Scented oil and Attars³ like Raughan-i-gul, rose, motya and chambeli, jassamine etc., Attar of Khas, (*A. muricatum*) of hena flower, of *Lawsonia alba* etc., were many which the people rubbed on their hair and sprinkled on their dresses for their pleasing smell⁴.

The Changes. Under the British rule, English cloth began to be increasingly used⁵. Among the male portion of the educated city community, the European style of dress was spreading⁶. The local and tribal peculiarities were disappearing among the people⁷. The demand for embroidered dresses had decreased⁸ and the art of calico printing declined as the time passed⁹. The European boot was replacing the Indian style among all classes who had been touched in any manner by the rays of the European culture, from the graduate to the khidmatgar¹⁰. But the ordinary dress of a poor man remained almost the same.

(4)

FOOD

*Pet bharia rotian, te subbhe gallin motian ;
Pet na paian rotian, te sabbhe gallin khotian.*

(If the stomach is full everything looks nice ; but if it be empty nothing pleases the eyes).

The people appreciated the difference between full and empty stomach further in the proverbs like :

*Khawe ser kamave sher,
Khawe pa kamave swah.*

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1. D. G. Gurgaon. 1883—1884, p. 39.
 2. Monograph (Pottery and Glass), 1892, p. 26.
 3. Attars were very strong oils, containing the essential oils of the plants and substances used for their preparation.
 4. Powell, vol. ii, pp. 418—427 ; Mr. Powell gives a long list of names of various Attars and Oils generally used in the Panjab.
 5. D. G. Hazara, 1883—4, p. 51 ; S. R. Jhelum, 1883, p. 54 ; D. G. Jhelum, 1883—84, p. 56.
 6. D. G. Lahore, 1893—94, p. 67.
 7. D. G. Multan, 1901—02. p. 87.
 8. Powell, vol. ii, p. 96.
 9. Latifi, p. 96.
 10. *ibid*, p. 111.

(He that eats a seer, works like a lion; he that eats $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a seer works like wood-ashes).

An ordinary peasant had two meals a day, the morning from 10 to 11 o'clock, the evening one from 6-30 to 8 at night. But the peasant was not always regular and punctual in his time. Sometimes he took three meals and sometimes even four a day. Besides the two full meals above referred to, he would sometimes take a small meal of bread cooked the night before and left over from last night's meal, before he left for his day's work; and another, a piece of the bread left over from the morning meal, between 2 and 4 P.M.¹

Women ate their food after the men and the Muslim women indeed refused to eat with males, because they committed all kinds of sin out of doors without their knowledge. Those women took pride in adhering to this rule. The Sunis of India said that the Shiah women did not conform to the custom².

Food was cooked in each house separately by women, but sometimes three or four Hindu families clubbed together and used the same oven. Sometimes, in the villages there were public ovens, at which some people (usually Mahomedans) had their cakes baked, paying the attendant in flour or by one of the cakes, or some other thing mutually agreed upon³. Young and the old women alike, spent an hour or two in grinding, early in the morning. Thus in Delhi, going through the village in the early dawn or dark, very often, the only sound was that of the woman's industry at the mill⁴.

The staple⁵ food consisted of the grain grown in the locality. Well-to-do people ate wheat and rice, while ordinary peasant's food consisted chiefly of wheat, barley, and gram in summer, and maize in winter. The poorer classes used inferior grains⁶ such as, china (*Panicum miliaceum*), mandua (*Fleusine coracana*), jowar (great millet), etc. In the hills, sub-montane and canal-irrigated tracts, where rice was largely grown, it

1. D. G. Kangra, part II, 1897, p. 32; D. G. Jhang, 1883-4, p. 49; D. G. Peshawar, 1897-98, p. 101; D. G. Multan, 1901-02, p. 86; D. G. Rawalpindi, 1907, p. 95. D. G. Ludhiana, 1904, p. 96; D. G. Jullundur, pp. 135-136; D. G. Chamba States, 1904, p. 204.

2. P. N. Q., F. A. Steel—vol i, April 1884, p. 74.

3. D. G. Jullundur, 1904, pp. 136-138.

4. D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 90.

5. See also the First Chapter.

6. see S. R. Pargannah Muktsar and Ilaka Mamdot in Ferozepore District, 1878, p. 22; D. G. Peshawar, 1897-98, p. 101.

formed the principal diet of the people in general, but elsewhere it was eaten only on festive occasions¹. In the south-west and the districts of Jhelum and Gujrat, bajra (spiked millet) was mostly consumed in the winter. There was indeed a saying in Gujrat that an agriculturist who had bajra to eat and butter-milk to drink desired nothing more which shows the importance attached to bajra as food². In Peshawar, staple food in winter was maize³. In the hill districts like Kangra and Simla, horse-chestnut flour was used, where available, to make cakes. Pulses boiled with spices and vegetables like lobia (*Dolichos sinensis*); fruit of egg plant or banjan (*Solanum melongena*), bhindi (*Abelmoschus esculantus*), and of many pumpkins (kaddu), gourds (kakri), water-melons (tarbuz), and sweetmelons (kharbuza); the leaves of all the Brassicas, of chaulai (*Amaranthus polygonus*), methi (*Trigonella fenugraecum*) and of the small pulses and the roots of carrots⁴, were eaten with bread by prosperous zamindars and towns people, but the poorer classes who could not always afford them, merely mixed salt in their bread and ate it with butter-milk. Potato crop was introduced in Panjab immediately after annexation and it grew in importance⁵. Sometimes (as in Mukatsar) the people ate thick cakes made of jowar, bajra, gram, makkai, barley, wheat and gram, all mixed together⁶. Rabri which was some jawar soaked in sun till swelled (khatana) and then boiled in milk in Karnal, but which was prepared by steeping bajra flour in butter-milk and water and placing the mixture in sun till evening that it could ferment, adding more butter-milk and a little salt and cooking over fire for a time, in Sirsa; porridge of coarsely ground grain (dalia) and rice-milk (khir) were relished by some people⁷. Satu of barley, or barley boiled, prepared and ground to flour, mixed into a paste with a little water, was an article of diet, especially when travelling⁸. Satu was also made of maize flour, parched before grinding. Peasants were especially fond of curds, butter-milk, and green mustard (sarson) as relished with

1. see D. G. Chamba State, 1904, p. 204; D. G. Kangra, 1897, Part II, 32; D. G. Simla Hill States, 1910, p. 41; D. G. Sirmur State, 1904, p. 58.

2. D. G. Gujrat, 1892-93, p. 47; D. G. Jhelum 1904, p. 138.

3. D. G. Peshawar, 1897-98, p. 101.

4. S. R. Panipat Tahsil & Karnal Parganah of Karnal District 1884, pp. 122-123; D. G. Simla, 1910, p. 41; D. G. Kangra, part II, 1897, p. 33.

5. Parliamentary Papers-Commons-Accounts & Papers-Famine Commission Vol. LXXI, Part ii, 1888, p. 177; D. G. Kangra, 1897, Part iii, p. 12.

6. S. R. Parganah Muktsar & Ilaka Mamdot in Ferozepore District, 1878, p. 22.

7. S. R. Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of District, 1883, p. 122; S. R. Sirsa, 1879-83, p. 152; S. R. Delhi, 1912, p. 90.

8. Moorcroft and Trebeck, vol. i, p. 182; see also D. G. Kangra, 1897, part ii, 33; D. G. Sirmur State, 1905, pp. 57-58.

bread. Ghee was used only by those who could afford it. The combination of various articles of food varied much with the seasons at some places, as in Jhang¹. Meat was seldom eaten, except by the better classes, and by them only on occasions of rejoicing or by way of hospitality. Thus at Bakra Ead in the Kohat district, every family that could afford it sacrificed a goat or a fat-tailed sheep. At other times plough oxen or a camel that had met with a fatal accident, was used and the flesh was then distributed among the neighbours either gratis or at a very low price². Fish was consumed where the people could secure it³, but at some places it was considered inferior food and people who ate it were looked down upon, though not outcasted⁴.

The common beverages were butter-milk, water mixed with milk and sugar, country sharbets, and sardai, a cooling drink made by bruising certain moistened ingredients in a mortar; but the use of the two latter was almost entirely confined to the townsfolk. Hemp (bhang) was ordinarily drunk by the religious mendicants (faqirs) both Hindu and Mahomedan. Tea was much used on occasions in Sipiti and constantly by such as could afford it; and was drunk at the morning or evening meal. It was mixed with water and was boiled in a copper coudron. When the water was thoroughly boiling, salt and butter were added and well stirred into it. For the proper enjoyment of tea, it was necessary for every one to carry about with him a small wooden cup, which was kept in the bosom of the coat next the skin⁵.

Prior to annexation the only spirit made in the Panjab was an uncoloured rum from sugar, and this remained the chief alcoholic drink of the people throughout the period. In Kulu, towards the source of the Beas, there was much drunkenness, and the favourite drink was a hill-bear of which there were two kinds, lugri or chakti, and sur. The former was made from rice, fermented with phap, a kind of yeast and the latter which was the "table bear" was made with kodra millet instead of rice and a ferment called dhili⁶. The people of Lahul and Pangi drank good deal in winter. In Lahul, chhang (a bear) was made with wheat and phapi, rice and barley were also used instead of wheat and a sort of whisky

1. S. R. Jhang, 1874—80, pp. 57.

2. S. R. Kohat, 1884, p. 7; S. R. Multan, 1901—02, p. 84; S. R. Lahore, 1893—94, p. 67; S. R. Hoshiarpur, 1904, p. 83.

3. see S. R. Kangra, 1883-p4, p. 60; S. R. Muzzafargarh, 1882, p. 62.

4. S. R. Ludhiana District—and Maler Kotla State, 1904, 96.

5. D. G. Kangra, part iv, 1897 p. 80, also see D. G. Multan, 1901—02, p. 85; D. G. Jhelum, 1904, p. 138.

6. D. G. Kangra, part ii, 1897 p. 34; I. G. I. P. vol. i, p. 120.

was also distilled from barley which was drunk in its rawest form, and was never allowed time to mature¹.

The rural population, in general, consumed very little spirits or drugs. Largest part of revenue derived from spirits was raised in cantonments and large towns. Muslims were forbidden by their religion to indulge in spirits. Smoking of tobacco was, however, common. Opium was also used and in Montgomery district indeed, almost every man had a bit wrapped up in the end of his turban. Religious mendicants were especially addicted to the use of this drug². But it was not so common as tobacco.

In towns, cow's milk was used, but in rural tracts, buffalo's was preferred as being richer. In the camel-breeding tract, camel's milk was also drunk. Milk was a staple food of the graziers. Thus in Jhang, the ordinary grazier as often as not, instead of making bread for his evening meal, simply mixed his flour in the milk and warmed it over a fire³.

Sweetmeats and sweet cakes were much sought after in towns, but to the ordinary labourer or peasant, they represented a height of luxury which he did not often attain. Of the man whose desires were unreasonable, the proverb was known ;

*'Ghar bhaneji ata nahin ;
Phulke shokh pakawe.*

(In his niece's house there is not even flour, yet he calls for sweetcake). The sweetmeats sold in towns were the ordinary laddu and pera ware etc. of the Panjab. A special kind of sugar, of crystallized kind, called *sangri misri* or *kuja di misri*, was a speciality of Multan.

When a guest came, a better meal was served according to the means of family ; etiquette required that the best meal of all should be given on the occasion of a son-in-law's visit.

On the festival-days, too, sweet and tooth-some cakes and messes were prepared, each festival having its own time honoured dish. Sweetmeats were essential on the occasions when friends were gathered together to help in carrying out some heavy piece of embanking or other work⁴.

1. D. G. Kangra, part iii. p. 11 ; D. G. Chamba States, 1904, p. 204 ; D. G. Sirmur State, 1904, p. 58.

2. See S. R. Montgomery, 1878, p. 54 ; S. R. Kohat, 1884, p. 154 ; D. G. Ludhiana, 1904, p. 96 ; D. G. Multan, 1901-02 p. 86 ; Excise Administration Report 1875-76, p. 4.

3. D. G. Jhang, 1884, p. 48.

4. D. G. Multan, 1901-02, p. 85 ; D. G. Jhelum, 1904, p. 138 ; S. R. Sirsa, 1879-83 p. 154.

Under the British rule, wheat was being increasingly used by the people and aerated waters were coming rapidly in use¹.

(5)

AMUSEMENTS

The account given in various District Settlement Reports and District Gazetteers of Panjab, of the amusements of the people in their respective districts in the plains may in general be described in the words of Captain W. G. Water-field thus "Although the people were, as a rule, light hearted, there was not much merriment about them, and they were sadly at a loss for amusements and games, the latter were confined to children, and youths who had barely reached manhood²." Most of the elderly people in different parts of Panjab and especially among Pathans, were satisfied with the simple social practice of assembling together in the evening at a place set apart for the purpose to smoke their pipes and discuss village affairs, the women of course not being admitted³. In the hills, however, sports and pastimes, were more general than among the people of the plains⁴.

Some of the important and interesting games played in various districts of the Panjab may here be described. Pirkaudi, or a sort of prisoner's base, was a game which was best known in Jhelum ; one man ran out into the open and was pursued by two more ; as they circled round each other the first man tried to hit or touch one of the other two, and get away before they could catch him, they tried to seize and throw him, but could not do so until he touched them. The excitement that the game gave to those who were interested in the players, was sometimes so great as to lead to rioting⁵.

Jhumir, was a circular dance which jats danced at weddings, and wherever they happened to collect in large numbers. They moved round in a circle, dancing and clapping their hands in time. A young man who could not dance Jhumir was very lightly esteemed. The ladies would greet him with :

*"Na jhumir na tarvi
Te ajai munh te darhi"*.

1. S. R. Lahore, 1873, p. 54 ; For a general account see I. G. I. P., vol. i, pp. 53—54.

2. S. R. Gujrat, 1874, p. 165.

3. Panjabee, Arnold 1878, p. 97.

4. D. G. Chamba, 1904, p. 210.

5. D. G. Jhelum, pp. 142—43 ; D. G. Jhang, 1908, p. 68.

“Can’t dance jhumir or clap your hands !

Why, the very beard on your face is no good”¹.

Sanchi was a game, which was played throughout the Panjab. One man ran backward, and two followed and tried to catch him, he striking them off with his open hands².

Dolls or, as they called them, “*gudian patola*”, was the amusement of young girls. The doll play generally as in Lahore, took the form of marriages between male and female dolls, ‘*guda*’ and ‘*gudi*’. All the proper ceremonies were gone through by the youthful grown ups, even down to exchanging of presents, ‘*kauris*’ taking the place of rupees with brass and copper ornaments of jewellery. Another favourite game with dolls was ‘*dedo*’, when a number of girls assembled and pretended a doll had died. They wept aloud, tipping their noses in lieu of the breast beating their elders went through on a death occurring. Young girls also played with *gitas* (small pebbles) ; this being a game of skill in throwing up a pebble, picking some more from the ground and catching the one thrown up, before it fell.

“*Gedian*” was played with small pieces of wood, the object being to drive these across a line drawn on the ground ; whoever succeeded carried off the other boy’s pieces of wood.

Kite flying was common amusement to the residents of the cities and marvellous skill was displayed in manoeuvring the kites. Two boys flew kites against one another. The one whose kite flew highest, had the first try at the other’s string, which he tried to cut by bringing his string against it with a very sudden and rapid swoop of the kite. If he failed, his adversary had a shot at him and so on³.

Some of the athletic games were something like those played in England, such as, touchlast, tip-cat and leap-frog. In games played with equal numbers on each side, the sides were chosen in the following manner :—the two captains (‘*Janethu*’ or ‘*hari*’) sat down together, and the rest of the players paired off as equally as possible. Each pair of boys thus, having privately arranged to represent two separate articles, e.g., a sickle and spade, came up to the captains, and one of the pair said ‘*dik dik daun daun*’ ; one of the captains then observed ‘*Tera bhala howe*’ : “good luck to you” ; the other captain was then asked which he would

1. S. R. Muzaffargarh, 1873—80, p. 71 ; D. G. Jhang, 1908, p. 68.

2. S. R. Ludhiana, 1878—83, p. 70.

3. D. G. Lahore, pp. 64—65 ; S. R. Gujrat, p. 165 ; D. G. Chamba, 1904, p. 212.

have, a sickle or a spade ; and as he chose the boys took sides. The prize in most of these sports was a ride on the back of the losing party, and it was always the boys who were picked together as described above, who rode on each other's back¹. Wrestling, jumping, running and 'mugdar pherna' were common in the hills. In 'mugdar pherna' mugdar was a section of a tree trunk cut in the side. It was quite a maund in weight, and was raised with one hand, and held at arm's length, or poised over the head : a feat which none but a strong man was capable of².

'*Bini pakarna*', was a game in which one man clasped the left hand of another with both of his hands, and the other had to remove one of them with his right hand. The younger lads played '*Shah Shatapu*', or "Hop Scotch", played on a somewhat elaborate diagram traced on the ground. There were as many as twelve compartments in the diagram, each having a separate name. '*Chicho Chich kanholian*' was a curious game which, if played often, could make the boys good trackers. Two sides were formed. They parted, and when each was out of sight of the other, all the boys composing it made minute marks on the ground or the shrubs and other objects near. Both met again and each side had to discover and obliterate the marks made by the other side³.

In "*Gend batta*" or *patak dhara*, one boy mounted on the back of another and played with a ball. If this was caught by one of the other boys the catcher was entitled to ride. If neither the rider nor the one of the other boys got hold of the ball, and it fell to the ground, the boy acting as the "steed" threw the rider down and hit a boy with the ball, the boy so hit became the "steed" and so the game was continued.

In "*Numa Shikari*"—Salt hunting, boys played at being salt thieves and customs patrols. Kiaris of land were supposed to be salt pans.

In "*Chil Jhapatta*" or "*pag phaya*", a circle was drawn on the ground, one boy sat and a second stood within the circle, while the others remained outside. One of those outside, hit the boy who was sitting. If the standing boy touched the hitter the latter had to sit in the circle, the boy who was sitting stood, and the boy who stood joined the others outside the circle.

In "*Surang Lal ghor*" the boys of one party stood in a circle and

1. S. R. Shahpur, 1904, p. 84.

2. D. G. Chamba, 1904, p. 211.

3. D. G. Sialkot, 1894—95, pp. 58—59 ; D. G. Rawalpindi, 1893—94, pp. 89—90 ; D. G. Chamba, 1904, p. 212.

those of the opposite party jumped on their backs. The first rider got down and ran round the others saying :—

*Surang Lal gori,
Tum mujh se kiyun na boli,
Kuen men dol,
Bharabhar bol,
Pipal ka patta,
Hara dopatta,
Kuen men lakri,
Main ne jani kakri,
Thali men bhaji,
Log lugai raji.*

He said so without taking breath and then mounted his steed again. If he was successful, the next boy did the same, but as soon as one failed the parties changed places, the riders became the steeds and the steeds the riders.

“*Nili aswar*” was a game in which one boy jumped on the back of another. A third boy asked the rider “what is your blue mare (*nili ghor*) worth?” and he replied “Rs. 360”. The questioner then said she was not worth a “*kani kauri*”, the rider then jumped down and chased the third boy. Until he could catch or touch him other boys rode his steed by turns.

In “*Pathar khurki khurka*” one boy got on another’s back. The rider took a stone in his hand and the steed shut his eyes. A third boy hit the stone and the rider asked the steed, “who hit the stone?” If the steed guessed the right boy the latter took his place as steed and the former steed became rider; otherwise the boy who hit the stone mounted the steed and the game was resumed¹.

“*Danda litti*” was a game much resembling English tipcat. The stick was called ‘*danda*’ and the small piece of wood pointed at both ends which was struck with the *danda* was called ‘*litti*’. A hole called ‘*gutta*’ was dug. If the striker missed hitting, the ‘*latti*’ or the ‘*litti*’ was caught by one of the players, the striker had to carry one of them to the *gutta* on his back. In “*Chil jappatta*”, a boy held one end of a rope and another taking the other end wheeled round and round at the full extremity of his tether, meanwhile attempting to catch the other players².

1. D. G. Gurgaon, 1910, pp. 79—81.

2. D. G. Hissar, 1892, p. 96; D. G. Hissar & Lahore State 1904, pp. 135—136; D. G. Gurgaon, 1810, p. 79.

"*Neza-bazi*", i.e., tent-pegging, line-cutting etc., were practiced to a considerable extent¹.

"*Skhai*" was a game much played in Yusafzai and Hushtnagar ; it consisted in holding the left foot in the right hand, and hopping on one leg against an adversary ; sides were made².

"*Chuh-chuhani*" was similar to the Scotch game of Tig. From among a company of boys one took his place in the centre, his object being to touch any one of the others, all of whom tried to avoid him. The boy touched had to take his turn in the middle.

In "*Hudu bharna*", a boy stood on one foot, and tried to hope a specified distance without letting the other foot touch the ground. If unsuccessful, he had to begin again.

"*Gindi-brag*" was similar to the game of "Hen and Chickens". In a company of boys one was a shepherd, one a leopard, several were dogs, and the remainder a sheep. The shepherd went before, and the sheep followed bleating. Suddenly the leopard tried to seize one of the flock, who was rescued by the dogs.

"*Luk-lukani*" and "*Dhito*", were the two forms of "Hide and Seek". In "*Chiunkal*", a plank was balanced on the top of an upright support, and boy leaned on each end. The plank was made to swing round. In "*Ghor-puna*", two girls swing round with a grasp of each other's hand, the feet being in contact.

Khinnu, or hockey, was a game of ancient origin in the hill, and every town had its own "*changan*" or hockey grounds³.

"*Kili thipa*" was played by boys with flat circular disks $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch thick. They aimed their *thipa* at a brick and had various complicated rules the loser who played out incurred the penalty of carrying the rest on his back turn and turn about. "*Karanga*" was a somewhat risky game, played by boys up in trees, one boy having to catch one or other of the rest without alighting on the ground. "*Thapp*", was a game somewhat resembling the English game fox and geese. "*Latu*" or tops made of clay were spun, and the boy whose top had spun the longest, carried off the other boy's tops.

1. D. G. Rawalpindi, 1893—94, 190.

2. D. G. Peshawar, 1897—98, p. 105.

3. D. G. Chamba, 1904, pp. 210—212.

Birds-fighting were delightful matches between birds ; such as cocks, quail, partridge, and *bulbul*. Among animals, ram fighting was popular and for months before the fight came off, they had the combatant rams in training. Buffalo fights, too, were arranged in the same way but not so often¹. Young men sometimes went out in parties by night, hunting the game with blazing branches of dwarf palm. Any hares and patridges that they could disturb were dazzled and secured². Camel racing on the Bikaner border, was fairly popular. Emily Eden writing in 1866, gave an interesting account of a race run by fifteen of the grass-cutter's ponies, ridden by their owners, at Karnal³. Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow were amusements common to both Lahul and Spiti, and were practised at meetings held at particular seasons.

Games of Chance like chess, cards and dice were played. Both Spiti men and Lahuli had almost always got dice about them, with which they amused themselves by gambling at odd moments. "*Chhakri*" was a game played with cowries on a cross figure, marked on wood, stone, or the ground. To these may be added "*Goli-khelna*" and "*Gatti-khelna*", both of which were played with pice, coins of larger value, and were akin to gambling.

Evening parties were common enough in Spiti and Lahul at which much chang or beer was drunk, and men and women danced a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the Bedas⁴. In Chamba women sang while dancing and the dancing of men, here, was vigorous and even boisterous⁵.

Among the more refined amusements of the people "*bait bazi*" a recitation of Panjabi verses in public between two rivals was largely attended. There were many kinds of string instruments like Tambura, Sitar, Rabab, Sarod, Kanun and Kantura etc; which the people played upon. Wind instruments were not so numerous as the stringed instruments, still the instruments like Namsi, Nai, Bin, Turi, Surna were well-known. Other miscellaneous instruments like Jaltrang, Chiana, Kartul etc. and a great variety of drums like Tambur, Dhol, Dholki, Pakawaj etc., were used

1. D. G. Lahore, 1883—84, pp. 49—50 ; D. G. Lahore, 1893—94, p. 65 ; S. R. Muzaffargarh, 1873—80, p. 71 ; S. R. Gujrat, 1874, p. 165 ; S. R. Lahore, 1865—69, p. 57.

2. S. R. Kohat, 1884, p. 75.

3. I. G. I. P. vol. i ; The Hon. Emily Eden, -up p. 182.

4. D. G. Kangra, 1897, Part iii, 12.

5. D. G. Chamba, 1904, pp. 210—211.

by the people¹. But music was strictly forbidden to Mahommedans, excepting only a drum at marriages or ceremonies, and then apparently only for the purpose of publicity or proclamation of the event. Although this prohibition was not much attended to still it was reported in 1884 that strangely enough, during the few years before, moral pressure was put by Mullahs on the people in Kohat to prohibit them from music and all nautches (dances) etc. among the Muslims there, had come to stop². Songs were sung by itinerant singers (mirassies or dhadis), who recited the tales of "Hir Ranjha", "Sassi Punu", or such others to the accompaniment of a fiddle or a tambourine ("dhad", dhoura"). Occasionally a body of Nats or Bazigars (strolling acrobats) visited a village, and the people collected to see the exhibition. But it could not be said of the agriculturist Hindu or Mahommedan, that he was much fond of such amusement³.

The musicians of the Panjab, whether Hindus or Muslims, used the Hindu system exclusively. The Arabic system of music was not known⁴. Six rags, or musical modes, which were known in all countries, according to the rites of the Sastras, were also used in the Panjab. The six modes, according to the Ordinances of the Sastras were those; the first Bhairon, the second Malkauns, the third Hindol, the fourth Dipak, the fifth Siri, and the sixth was known as the Megh mode; and there were five female modes of each of these modes, and eight infant modes, (modifications), and these were sung with different variations, and they all had different embellishments. They did not sing these six modes at all times, but some they sang in the morning, and some in the evening.

All the six modes were sung in the seven notes as *kharj*, *Rikhabh*, *Gandhar*, *Maddham*, *Pancham*, *Dhaiwat* and *Nikhad*⁵. But an English observer could hardly like the way the Panjabis sang⁶. Anne C. Wilson who heard five Panjabi musicians in 1895, had indeed some very harsh words to say about them, which it would better not be quoted here⁷.

Dancing girls were popular among the wealthy people. Captain

1. D. G. Lahore, 1893—94, pp. 66; Powell, vol. ii, pp. 270—279; Monograph (Wood Manufacture), 1887—88.

Mr. Powell gives a fairly long list of the different instruments used in the Punjab.

2. Powell, vol. ii, 270; S. R. Kohat, 1884, p. 75.

3. S. R. Ludhiana, 1878—83, p. 10; D. G. Ludhiana, 1888—89, p. 55; D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 96.

4. Powell, vol. ii, 270.

5. Court, Major Henry 1888, p. 116.

6. I. G. I. P., vol. i, p. 55.

7. C. Wilson Anne, *After Five Years in India-1895*, pp. 77—78.

Mundy wrote in 1883 that he was honoured at Patiala by the Raja of Patiala with a party of nauch girls to entertain his party after dinner¹. Charles Hugel wrote in 1835—36 that during his tour of Panjab and Kashmir, more than 20 dancing girls persisted in hovering about his tent at Narpoor, of whom he admitted a party of four. They were all Mahommedans, very richly dressed, each having besides a ring passing through the left nostril, another at the tip of the nose, suspending a bright, round, golden ornament exactly before the mouth². Giving an account of a dancer Kaira on the occasion of the Maharaja's interview with Lord William Bentick, Charles Hugel wrote "I shall not forget the expression with which the girl sang the words :—

"Thou art my soul ; thou art my world.

I who please thee here am they slave.

"throwing herself at the same time at the listner's feet, her features lighted up as though beseeching for a hearing, and her hands clasping his knees, then abruptly starting up with the exclamation :—

"But thou art silent ; thy heart is of stone.

It is cold for me ; it will never be mine.

"She moved away, her hand raised, and her head thrown back : while she threw an expression of despair into the last line, and seemed to sob out the words³".

The dancing women and drinking of native spirits, over which much money was wasted continued playing a prominent part in the social life of the people under the British rule⁴. But the dancing women played their part mostly for the wealthy people. The great mass of people could hardly afford such luxury and the papers like *Ataliq-i-Hind* (issue dated 8th June 1892) rather condemned even the balls and dances which were current among the Europeans, as immoral⁵.

Drama hardly existed except in a few rude plays (swangs), acted by professional castes. Athletics given under the British rule and cricket and to a lesser extent foot-ball, were becoming popular but only among the children in the schools⁶. Village peasant hardly took interest in all these

1. Captain Mundy-Journal of Tour in India—,136.

2. Hugel, 57.

3. *ibid*, 345—346.

4. D. G. Lahore, 1893—94, p. 66.

5. Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab 1892, p. 169.

6. D. G. Lahore, 1893—94, p. 64.

amusements and the life in the village was rather, terribly dull¹, the monotony of which was rendered bearable by the numerous and costly ceremonies which a birth, a wedding or a funeral demanded². Of these, perhaps, marriage was the best occasion for amusements. Numerous were the songs, the women sang on the occasions, but among them *Sithni*, *Ghori*, and *Laman* were important³.

Pilgrimages offered great distractions and were regularly organized to the shrines like that of *Sakhi Sarwar*. Fairs also afforded excuse for numerous holidays, which were mostly spent in harmless though aimless amusements.

The principal Hindu Holidays were, the *Basant Panchmi*, or feast of *Sarswati*, goddess of learning ; *Sivaratri*, or feast of *Siva* ; the *Holi*, or the great spring festival and *Saturnalia* of Northern India ; the *Baisakhi*, or Hindu New Year ; the *Salona* or day when amulets against evil were solemnly put on ; the *Janam Ashtmi* or the birthday of *Krishna* ; the *Dasehra*, which recalled *Rama's* conquest of *Ravana* ; and the *Diwali*, the Hindu feast of lanterns. Instead of the *Holi*, Sikhs observed a kindered festival called *Hola Mohalla*, held the day after, and also *Guru Nanak's* birthday. There was however, tendency among the Sikhs, in matters of fairs and festivals, to conform to ordinary Hindu usage.

The chief Mahommedan holidays were, in the Panjab as elsewhere, the *Id-ul-Fitr* or day after *Ramzan*, the *Id-uz-zuha*, the *Muharram*, *Bara Wafat*, *Juma-ul-wida*, and *Shab-i-barat*. Besides these, every locality had a succession of minor fairs and festivals of its own¹.

1. S. R. Panipat & Karnal, 1872—80, p. 123.

2. D. G. Hissar, 1892, p. 96.

3. Court, Major Henry 1888, p. 132

An example of *Sithni*—

Kurme joro jarani jarani asin nahin pukarni pukarni
Joro kahindi kurme tain main kitu hai jattnan Sain,
Tun na sade behre ain kehi pai bagarni bigarni
Kurme joro jarani jarani,

Meaning :—that the woman says to the betrothal man's father, "the wife is an adulteress, but we should not tell it ; she is then saying to herself, 'I have taken a Jatt for my husband ; if you now incessantly come to my house, listen, you will be only as a beggar,' (ibid, 132),

4. I. G. I. P., vol. i, p. 56 ; D. G. Kangra, 1897, pp. 42—48 ; D. G. Jhang, 1908, p. 69 ; Bingley, Captain A. H.—Sikhs—, pp. 80—89. Captain Bingley gives a long list of all the important festivals observed by Hindus and the Sikhs in the Panjab.

CHAPTER IV

People, Their Life and Their Manners (*Contd.*)

(1)

INFANTICIDE

“MURDER is the first specific crime brought to our notice after the fall of man from his state of innocence and righteousness ; and in its form of INFANTICIDE it has been more or less practiced and approved from motives of corrupted religion and mistaken social economy, by almost all the tribes and nations of the world”¹.

And Major Archer wrote in 1833 that inquiries had proved that infanticide still existed in Kulu², which was further confirmed immediately after annexation when it was reported regretfully that Panjab was not free from this crime, which disgraced many noble tribes in Upper India³. A circular was sent to all Commissioners, throughout the Panjab, in order to collect further informations on the subject in their respective divisions⁴. The informations received in 1853 were interesting.

Female Infanticide. The practice amongst the Rajputs was of extreme antiquity, and arose from combined motives of pride and poverty. The Bedees was actuated by pride alone as they were generally opulent, and lived in affluence.

Amongst Hindus an idea prevailed that the betrothal of a female in marriage betokens inferiority ; their sons could marry their equals or inferiors, but custom prescribed that their daughters should marry only their equals (the law of isogamy), or their superiors (the law of hypergamy), and a pious Hindu believed that if his daughter grew up to puberty in his house unmarried, several generations of his descendants would most certainly be damned⁵.

1. Wilson, John (History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India), 1885, p. 17.

2. Archer, Major—Tours in Upper India, 1833, p. 235.

3. A. R. 1849—50, 1850—51, p. 65.

4. Selection from Correspondence, vol. i, 1853, p. 339.

5. Selection from Correspondence p. 404 ; Census 1881, p. 336 ; See also Crock William—Things Indian—, 1906, p. 272.

It followed then, in the case of the Rajputs, that as we ascended the scale of society, we had eventually to reach those who stood on the highest round of ladder and admitted no superior. These classes found themselves in awkward dilemma, either they had to bring up their daughters unmarried, or they had to provide husbands for them, and thereby confess that they were not the high and exclusive race to which they laid claim : either alternative was attended with disgrace, and there was but one remedy, viz., to destroy their female infants¹.

Nor was the hypergamy the only law which had this effect. For example, there was the very important law which forbade the taking to wife the daughter of a sacred group, or conceivably of a sacred village. It was not merely that a Sayad could not give his daughter in marriage to a layman, but that a layman would deem it sacrilege to contract such an alliance, even if the Sayad was willing that it should take place. This was not the extremity of the law and at some places even a girl born in a village which had become sanctified by the birth of a holy personage within it, could not be taken to wife².

In addition to pride, the lavish expenditure at marriage was another predisposing cause to the crime among Rajputs. The higher the rank, the greater need there was for extravagance. They were no longer required, as formerly, in the higher grades of the army, and they would only enlist, to a limited extent, as common soldiers ; nor would they handle the plough ; this would be contrary to their ideas. They were in comparative destitution, and the sacrifice of the daughter was alike dictated by their position and their poverty³.

Male Infanticide. The killing of a male child was, in the Panjab, believed to be a certain remedy for barrenness and was, not infrequently perpetrated by a woman who had no children, or on her behalf. Various ceremonies to be performed in order to achieve the object were known, but it was usually alleged that the woman who desired a child should bathe over the child's body or in water in which it had been washed. And according to one account the life was to be taken with a bronze knife, and as much pain as possible caused, to make the remedy efficacious. The fundamental idea seemed to be that the life or soul of the murdered child could be transferred to the woman, as the bathing rite would seem to

1. Selection from Correspondence, vol. i, 404.

2. Census 1901, p. 212.

3. Selections from Correspondence, vol. i, 406.

indicate. Nor was the victim necessarily a young child as the following verse shows :—

*Mata pita dhanki lobhi ; My father and mother are greedy of wealth,
Raja kat kadarni ; The king regards himself alone ;
Devodevta bal ka lobhi, The gods are greedy for a sacrifice,
Arz kis ke pas pugarni, To whom shall I make my plaint.*

(A certain king had no son and was advised to make a human sacrifice to obtain one. A man and a woman were found willing to give up for the purpose their deaf and dumb son, who, as he was led to the sacrifice, found the voice, and gave utterance to the above.)

But it was not essential that only a male child should be sacrificed for the purpose. A child of either sex could do¹.

Unlucky Children. There were various ideas and superstitions which led, possibly in former times, to the sacrifice of children, or to their exposure, and a survival of these usages was probably still to be found in the custom of giving male children to faqirs². It was also within the bounds of possibility that superstition caused infanticide in a few cases, even under the British rule.

A child (unlike a calf) born in Bhadon was lucky, while one born in Katak was inauspicious, and the mother of such a child had to be turned out of the house, though she could be given to a Brahmin and then redeemed from him. Children born under certain asterisms were peculiarly liable, not only to misfortune themselves, but to cause evil to others, and various rites were performed to avert the consequences of their birth.

Very important also was the order in which the children in a family were born. Thus the first-born son of a family was peculiarly uncanny, subject to magical influence and invested with supernatural powers. On the one hand his hair was useful in witchcraft, and on the other its possession gave a wizard power over him, that he could not leave the house on the night of the Diwali. Snakes became torpid in his presence, and he could stop hail by throwing stone, backward from him, or by cutting a hail stone with a knife. He (or she) could not be married in jeth, nor could the mother cut first fruits in that month.

The position of the first-born was probably due to the fact that, if a

1. Census 1901, pp. 213—214.

2. See Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P. etc., 1882, pp. 424—425—Victoria paper in its issue dated 19th June mentions the tomb of Shah Daula in Gujrat, where women dedicated their first-born to the saint. See also Chapter V.

man, his father was born again in him, so that the father was supposed to die at his birth and in certain Khatri sections, *e.g.*, the kochhar, his funeral rites were actually performed in the fifth month of the mother's pregnancy. A formal remarriage of the parents was held when the wife was brought back like a bride from the house of a relative, where she had gone after the birth of their first son. This custom prevailed among the Khanna, Kapur, Malhotra, Kakar and Chopra, the highest section of the Khatri. These ideas were an almost logical outcome of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and it has inevitably resulted that if the first-born be a girl, she was peculiarly ill-omened, so that among the Khatri of Multan she was used to be put to death.

In the south-west of the Panjab, among the Hindu population which had preserved some ideas of great antiquity, the third conception or trikhal was peculiarly unlucky¹ and every effort was made to cause its abortion. Of three successive male children the second was fortunate; while of three girls the second was ill-starred; and so too boy following and preceding a girl was inauspicious while in the converse case the girl was fortunate. The eighth child was dangerous to the mother, or if a son, to the father, according to different local accounts.

Thus superstitions to some extent familiarized the people with the practice of abortion and infanticide².

The Crime Distinction. The distinction of the crime belonged in Panjab chiefly to the Bedees, or the descendants of Guru Nanak and to the highest classes of Rajput tribes. It was practised also in some parts of the Panjab by certain classes of the Khutree tribe; also throughout the Multan division and in Khangur, of the Leia division, by some of the Mahommedans³. Inquiries showed in 1868 that Sikh and Hindu Jats who had not formerly been suspected, were also not free from the crime⁴.

The principal Rajputs belonged to the royal families in the hills, and among them the crime prevailed. They inhabited the country between the Sutlej and the Chenab. Originally there were twenty-two principalities, eleven on the left bank and eleven on the right bank of the Ravee. The group on the left bank was generally known as Jullundur circle, of which

1. But in some places and indeed among Khatri and Aroras of Attock, it was auspicious.

2. Census 1901, pp. 214—215; Glossary of the tribes and castes, vol. i, pp. 742—747.

3. Selection Correspondence, 401.

4. Census 1868, p. 52.

Kangra was the acknowledged chief. Jumu was considered paramount among the dominions across the Ravee.

Many of these classes proceeded from one stock, and intermarriage was prohibited on account of their consanguinity, and not withstanding the lapse of many centuries, they still considered themselves as blood-relation.

Among the hill tribes, the Jumu and Kutoch (Kangra) clans ranked first, and yet, infanticide was not confined to them. The other classes also had high pretensions, and as they were precluded from intermarrying with their tribes by consanguinity, so they refused to risk their claims to the superiority by giving their daughters to a rival clan.

In the like manner the Rajput class in the plains, practiced infanticide. They were found principally in the country lying under the Hills, between pergana Deenanagar of the Gurdaspur district, and pergana Kuriahwalee of the Gujrat district. The chief of them was the Munhas tribe; they were only another branch of the Jumoowal family.

The hill Munhas Rajputs, being generally considered of an inferior station to the royal class, had no difficulty in disposing of their female offspring in marriage, for they readily acknowledged their inferiority to those tribes who were directly connected with royalty.

In the plains, however, the position of the Munhas Rajput was materially altered. He was at the head, instead of at the bottom, of the Rajputs, and practised infanticide to attest and maintain his superiority. In the same manner other tribes, with less pretensions to such exclusiveness, followed the unnatural custom in order to be estimated of pure decent. But these were imitations, which the true Rajput would ridicule.

The Bedees, wherever found, committed infanticide; they belonged to the Khutree family. But the Khutrees, except in part of the Multan division in Khangur and in a portion of the Gujrat district, did not, it was supposed, generally commit the crime. The practice among Bedees appeared to have arisen from their priestly pride.

The other classes who followed it openly did so driven to it by their inability to meet the heavy marriage expenses.

Though the practice was acknowledged only by the tribes and classes that had been enumerated, yet it was believed in 1853 that the crime prevailed to a greater or less extent amongst all classes¹.

1. Selection Correspondence, 1853, vol. i, 404 to 406; Browne, John. Cave—Infanticide—1857, pp. 108 to 129.

How The Crime Was Committed. During Hindu ascendancy when infanticide was considered no crime, the child was destroyed immediately after birth, by filling the mouth with cow-dung, or by immersing the head in cow's milk, or by drawing the umbilical cord over the face ; all of these means were calculated to prevent respiration and cause immediate death. In the Gujrat district, the practice was to bury the infant alive. In the Khangur district, the juice of the Madar plant (*Asclepias gigantea*) was administered, or death was brought about by causing injury to the navel¹.

In Jullundur the methods most resorted to were starvation, or starvation followed by a glut of milk, which caused severe colic, or exposure to the weather ; but when hasty measures were desired the poor infant was placed in a large jar, the cover was put on and not removed till the child had been suffocated².

On these occasions, the Bedees went even a step further in brutality, burying the corpse with a piece of 'gur' between the lips, and a twist of cotton in the hand, and reciting over this a couplet :—

*"Gur khaien, pownee kutteen,
Ap na aien bhaya ghulleen."*

i.e., 'Eat your gur and spin your thread,
But go and send a boy instead³.'

Voice Against Crime. The British officers, who in the Cis-Sutlej states exercised indirect control over the sovereign chiefs after 1809, used all their influence to discourage crime, and in those districts under the British rule, issued repeated proclamations expressive of their abhorrence of the crime.

When the Jullundur Doab was ceded to the British in 1846, the practice of infanticide was denounced by the Commissioner Mr. J. Lawrence and the inhabitants were threatened with the severest penalties if they continued the practice.

The denunciation of the crime in the Jullundur and Cis-Sutlej States had a wonderful effect in checking infanticide. Amongst the Bedees in Jullundur, there was a most remarkable and highly gratifying reaction⁴.

Moreover a great revolution took place amongst Bedees after the

1. Selection Correspondence, 409 to 410.

2. D. G. Jullundur, 1904, p. 60.

3. Selection Correspondence, 1853, vol. i, 409—410 ; D. G. Hoshiarpur, Part A, 1904, p. 36.

4. Selection Correspondence, 1853 vol. i, 411 ; Browne, Cave—1857, pp. 132—134.

xation. Their priestly pride greatly humbled ; their occupation nearly gone ; their sources of revenue rapidly vanishing away, there remained nothing to support them against the condemnation of their fellows. And again, conviction was very general amongst them, that their present depressed condition had been the result of the disfavour of the Almighty, chiefly brought upon them by the adoption of that very practice¹.

There was much discussion over the subject at a meeting held on the 6th April 1853 at Jullundur, presided over by Mr. McLeod. A resolution was passed by all denominations of the Hindu and Mahomedan inhabitants of pergunas Nawashuhar and Jullundur, in which they unanimously agreed to reduce the expenses attending marriages, to a fixed scale. To this resolution, the Bedees gave their adherence later on². Shortly after (April 21st), another meeting was held for the same purpose at Hoshiarpur for the Rajputs of the Lower Hills³. A report of the whole of the information received from various quarters along with certain recommendations to check the crime, which was sent to the Government of India, received their hearty approval⁴, and under their instructions a proclamation was issued throughout the Panjab declaring that a person committing the crime of infanticide would incur the penalty of death. Besides this, the families who continued to perpetrate the crime would, forfeit all their Jagirs and other pensionary allowances, etc., which might have been assigned to them by the Government. Further it was declared that any person who used his endeavour towards suppressing the crime, would be held deserving of reward, honour, and title from the Government⁵. Another meeting, which was a great epoch in the history of the anti-infanticide movement in Panjab, was held in the end of October, 1853. Here were assembled independent Rajas and tributary jagirdars ; high Rajputs of Kangra and Jumu and Munhas from the plains ; wealthy Bedees of Dera Nanak and Gogaria ; Brahmans and Khutrees, the Mahomedans, the commercial and municipal heads of every city of note, and delegates from the agricultural and trading communities of every district within two hundred miles of Amritsar. Here all those who had assembled, agreed to use their influence in their respective localities to suppress the crime⁶. Further meetings were held in various districts for the purpose of explaining and obtaining a wider adoption of the resolutions agreed to at

1. Selection Correspondence, 1853, vol. i, 408.

2. *ibid*, 412.

3. *ibid*, 413.

4. Browne, Cave—138—144 ; Selection Correspondence, 323—325.

5. Selection Correspondence, 441.

6. *ibid*, 433—440.

Amritsar¹.

In spite of all those developments, however, it was noticed in 1853 that, although the unnatural parents, fearing detection, used no means likely to lead to conviction, the infants were either allowed to die from neglect, from inadequate food, or exposure; or the mother's nipples being rubbed with opium the infant unconsciously imbibed poison with the milk that should invigorate life. The great disproportion of female to male children, as a general rule, as successive census operations showed, was very striking.

Paucity of Women. In 1853, the ratio of female to male children, in Kangara district, was found to be 87 to 100 and in some parganas of Hoshiarpur the proportion was even less². The general results of the census of 1881 in Panjab were puzzling again. Whereas in Europe, the females were slightly in excess to males, in the Panjab there were 5,425 males and 4,575 females among every 10,000 of the population³, and after forwarding the various arguments, the Census Report confirmed the views expressed in 1853 that the infanticide had taken the form of intentional neglect of the female children, rather than actual murder⁴.

In 1888-89, under the order of the Government of India, inquiries were made into the causes of the high rate of female over that of male infant mortality in the Jullundur, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Peshwar Divisions, which showed that female infanticide was largely practiced by certain classes in those districts⁵.

The census of 1891 showed only 850 females to every 1,000 males in Panjab⁶.

Nine villages in Jullundur where crime was most suspected, had been declared under the Female Infanticide Act (VIII of 1870) in 1884, but the measure did not appear to be successful⁷ and after reading certain reports, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab remarked in definite words that among certain castes in the Jullundur, Ferozepur and Ludhiana districts, the crime "still prevails to a most lamentable extent". Although the female infants were much less frequently killed outright by strangulation etc., their parents were bringing about their death by other means more

1. See Browne Cave—165 to 182.

2. Selection Correspondence, 1853, vol. i, 408—409.

3. Census 1881, p. 367.

4. *ibid*, p. 375.

5. Sanitary Adm. Report. 1889—90; See also the same reports for 1890—94.

6. Census 1891, p. 200.

7. D. G. Jullundur, 1904, p. 60.

or less deliberate. And for this, as an experiment at two or three places, he proposed the appointment of Indian Medical officers on the spot to whom the births, illness and deaths of all female infants would be reported, and whose business it would be to see as far as possible that such infants were not ill-used or neglected¹.

In the Panjab Census Report of 1901, Mr. Ross remarked that the cases of outright murder of female children could not be numerous in the Panjab². But the general result of the census had once again shown that males were in excess to females in Panjab, the ratio being 852 females to 1,000 males. The question was puzzling and the Sanitary Administration Report of 1900 had remarked that excessive female infant mortality in some Sikh districts, could in no case be accounted for by an unusual excess in female births. Mr. Ross could not explain the question and concluded after discussing the question at length: "All that can be said is that various causes, religious, social and economic, combine to render female life more precarious than male, and then operate with greater force in some sections of the community than in others³.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from these papers is that female infanticide did not die out entirely by 1901. Although the cases of outright killing could not be "numerous" as Mr. Ross would seem to agree, the cases of intentional neglect of female children could not be few. And it was a fact that girl children were treated with much less care than the boys⁴.

WOMEN OF THE PANJAB

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink-
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free;
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow".

Tennyson.

"The women of the Panjab" wrote Baron Hugel in 1835-36 "are celebrated and not undeservedly, for the beauty of their shape, their feet, and their teeth.⁵" But in some cases the things were quite different. The Spiti people, thus, were the ugliest in the world, and their women so repulsive looking that it was, indeed, very difficult for a student of human nature

1. Home, 1896, Sanitary, Sept., 7 to 49 pp. 71-73.

2. Census 1901, p. 266.

3. Sanitary Admn. Report for 1900; Census 1901, pp. 206-213.

4. See D. G. Ludhiana 1904, p. 52; D. G. Chamba State 1904, p. 129; D. G. Patiala State 1904, p. 60.

5. Hugel, 60.

to explain why people living at high altitudes should be so abominably ugly¹.

Status Of women. The position of women is a test of civilization. Amongst savages, women do all the hard work ; men when they are not fighting or hunting are smoking, drinking or sleeping. The other extreme is in enlightened countries, where women are educated and treated with respect. The position of women in India lay between these two extremes².

The authority of a woman in the household among rich and poor, thus says Multan Gazetteer, was very extensive ; and most of the money transactions passed through her hands. It was she who decided what the family shall eat and how much the husband shall spend. The marriages, too, were mainly settled by her, and the men had merely to consent. The fact that the women grind corn and cooked food with their own hands, even in the most respectable families, did not militate against their superiority in household matters, such duties being looked upon as proper accomplishments for women of all classes. And the proverbs like '*hukm-i-joruji bih aj hukm-i-khuda*' ('vox mulieris, vox Dei') show that their authority over their husbands was sometimes considerable³.

Of the original constitution of women, however, some authors of the Hindu sacred books hardly speak encouragingly. Falsehood, cruelty, bewitchery, folly, covetousness, impurity, and unmercifulness, according to them, are women's inseparable faults⁴. And actually, the difficulty which some mothers in Panjab had in looking after their girls was compared to that of keeping lamps made of flour : '*Ate da diwa bahar rakhan tah kan ghinn vanjan ; undar rakhan tan chuhe khawan*' (If you put them outside, crows fly off with them ; if you keep them indoors, rats eat them).

A woman who stayed at home had always the preference : '*Andar baithi lakh di : Bahar gayi kakh di*' (Who stays at home is worth a lakh : who wanders out is worth a straw). '*Tre kam kharab : Mard nun chakki, Sandhe nun gah ; Ran nun rah.*' (Three things are bad : grinding for a man, threshing for a buffalo, and travelling for a woman)⁵. The courtyard was the stage on which the woman played her daily part. But every mortal must have some excitement in his life, and this to a Panjabi woman, was granted her through her quarrels.

1. Fitzgerald—Guide to Dharamsala—1902, p. 34.

2. See Murdoch, J.—The Women in India—1902, p. 34.

3. D. G. Multan 1901—02, pp. 97—98 ; Fitzgerald J—1902, p. 14.

4. See Wilson, John—1855, p. 32.

5. D. G. Multan, 1901—02, p. 98.

Life to her could hardly be worth living without these, and she had recourse to them in every hour of flatness or depression. The neighbours were there to fight with, but the mother-in-law was the best subject, because she was always at hand. In order to properly hate the neighbours, it was essential to know something of them and when the women sat down in a row in the dust of the narrow alleys to spin the cotton, even enemies became friends. Shopping was another excuse for getting outside of the court-yard, almost as good as spinning or fetching water from the well¹.

'*Ghore nun talla, Ran nun khalla*' (Grass for a horse, shoe-beating for a woman)², this is what a Panjabi husband would sometimes say of his wife, and how he actually behaved with her may, perhaps, be clear from a story published in *Ukmil-ul-Ukhbar*, dated 8th March 1868 :—A person at Delhi cut off his wife's nose, and wanted to take it from the root : but the woman made too much noise ; the neighbours came to her aid and saved her. When asked why he committed the assault, the man replied that he "felt at the time inclined to do so"³. And if there was a tendency under the British rule to grant more freedom to the women, there were not few among the papers in the Panjab who opposed it. The complaint was that freedom made women corrupt. When a bad woman had a quarrel with her father, brother, or husband, she at once abandoned his house and became a prostitute ; the courts refused to compel her to return to his house against her will⁴.

Women were generally treated as the inferior sex, and when a husband and wife were walking together, she followed at a respectful distance behind. A woman could not mention the name of her husband or of his agnates older than he by generation, and she had to veil her face before them⁵. Her husband was her only hope and resource. If he ill-treated her she could not get a divorce ; if he died, she had to remain a widow⁶. Her only chance of happiness was to bear him son and keep out other rivals from his affection⁷.

Traffic in Women. There existed in the Panjab a traffic in women which was carried on by what was described as a kind of disreputable

1. Wilson, Anne C.—1805 (After Five Years in India), 269—272.

2. D. G. Multan, 1901—02, pp. 98—99.

3. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P., etc., 1868, pp. 165—166.

4. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P., etc., 1879, p. 87 ; also *ibid* pp. 221—227 ; Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab, 1888, p. 89.

5. Mackenzie, Colon—(Delhi), 1857, p. 59 ; S. R. Sirsa, 1879—83, p. 161.

6. at least among the higher classes.

7. D. G. Lahore 1893—94, p. 69.

matrimonial agency, and Panjabi women were also exported to Sind, in which province the paucity of female was very marked. This traffic was assigned to the scarcity of women, to the difficulty and expense attendant on the regular negotiations required for obtaining a wife within the caste, especially if the first wife had died, and to the restrictions imposed by Hindu custom on marriage within certain gotes. The purchasers of women were mainly Jats (both Sikh and Hindu), Aroras or Kirars, and, in a less degree, Kambohs and Khatris. The traffic had many ramifications, but the main source of supply appeared to be the Himalayan and sub-motane districts, whose women were well-favoured, of somewhat easy virtue, and incredibly ignorant. Women were also imported from the east of the Jamuna. The administration of the Sakhi Sarwar shrine in Dera Ghazi Khan appeared to carry on a thriving matrimonial agency business, among the Mahomedans of the Panjab.

On the Frontier the trade appeared to be declining. In former times part of the revenue of Chitral was taken in women of the Rati or Lal (Red) Kafir tribes, who were brought down to Peshawar by Kakka Khels. The women were sold by height, Rs. 20 a span, equal to Rs. 50 or 60 per foot, being the average price. This traffic was said to have ceased by 1901 though Powindahs continued to bring down Kafir women occasionally. The Mohmand Pathans sold women to the Khattaks of Peshawar and Kohat. As a general rule, the women sold by Pathans were those who had been unfaithful and who, instead of being murdered, were sold as a punishment¹.

Morality. Two general causes in all the countries, leading women into prostitution are "poverty" and "ignorance²", and in the Panjab, where there was no dearth of either, it was hardly astonishing to see, at some places, morality at its lowest level. Marriage tie in Kulu, for instance, had not the same binding effect on either the men or women as was given to it by more cultivated races. Women here, were a labour-saving machine, and if a man, with plenty of leisure and opportunity at many fairs, where, intoxicated by a plentiful supply of *lugri*, indulged his passions, there was hardly an encouragement for the wives to remain faithful. Married, in the first instance, simply for money consideration, disgusted by the flagrant infidelity of her husband, a Kulu woman saw little harm in throwing herself into the arms of a lover for whom she had formed a

1. Home, Secret, Panjab, 1888, p. 254; Census 1901, pp. 216—217; S. R. Kohat 1884, p. 77.

2. League of Nations' publication—Traffic in women and children, 1938, p. 7. It gives some very interesting facts on the subject.

real and natural attachment¹.

The prostitutes in the Panjab generally belonged to the Mahommedan religion². There was a complaint that the number of prostitutes and dancing girls under the British rule was increasing and some of the papers threw the blame for it on the Government itself. The Government had done nothing to discourage prostitution. On the contrary it granted licenses to prostitutes living within cantonment limits, and had even established lock-hospitals for their examination and treatment³. Sometimes, wrote *Akhbar-i-Am* (6th June 1888), Government forced respectable Panjabi girls into a life of prostitution for the sake of European soldiers. The order of the Government required that there should be a sufficient number of good looking prostitutes in every bazar⁴.

The Dancing Girls. Lahore was a place, where before annexation, the lavish profusion consequent upon the residence of a court, caused the art of the dancing girls to be more valued and better paid for. They were not, as sometimes happened in Calcutta, stolen children or slaves ; but the daughters or near relatives of dancers, and their education for their profession usually began at the age of five years, and required an apprenticeship of nine years to perfect them in the song or dance. Although this two-fold art was not in accordance with European taste, there was certainly a clearance in their voice, and a precision in the step, which surprised, where it did not please. The whiteness of their teeth, for which the women of the Panjab were renowned throughout India gave a great charm to the countenance, and they were generally finely formed, with beautiful hands and feet, though their dress did not display their figure to advantage.

There was a certain charm in their manner of singing poetry and when they danced, the continued movement of the musicians was also in character with the rest of the performance, which began with the amatory songs, the dancer standing at the far end of the room, having the musicians behind her. She presently stepped forward, the soft slow music became louder and quicker, as the expression became more impassioned ; the dancer describing either hope or fear, moved rapidly from side to side, and the whole usually concluded with an imitation of despair. Their epic poems were always sung seated, and the motion of the dancer was indicative of the vivacity of a narrative. The only song

1. Gore, F. St. J., *Lights and Shades*, 1895, pp. 52—53.

2. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P. etc., 1879, p. 475.

3. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P. etc., 1879, p. 164.

4. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab 1888, p. 88.

which required dancing as a part of them, were those of a jealous character, where the joke bordered on the verge of impropriety without overstepping it.

Most of the dancing girls were, however, stupid, and did not properly suit the action to the word. The gratest beauty was the delicacy of their feet and hands, which seemed quite peculiar to themselves, and the freedom and grace of their action were inimitable¹.

Dancing women under the British, continued to play a prominent part among the amusements of the people². But this was only among well to do persons. The great mass of people could hardly afford such a luxury³.

(3)

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE ETC.

The feeling that it is a shameful thing for a daughter not to be married at the customary age prevailed among all the religions and among all the classes in Panjab, though perhaps more strongly among Hindus and in the east than among Muslims and in the west. The case of a son was different. If he remained single no social stigma attached to the parents, though where early marriage prevailed they would probably feel that they had not fully done their duty by a son whom they allowed to grow up without a wife⁴.

Betrothal. As general, it may be said that betrothal in the Panjab, was a contract, which being a preliminary of the religious rite of marriage, could not be annuled. Thus among the Hindus of the south-west of Panjab it was a fundamental principal that only impotency, leprosy or an incurable disease could make a betrothal void, and some curious customs arose out of this idea that betrothal was indissoluble. For example, if either the boy or girl became dangerously ill, the ceremony of "*mathe lagavan*" (touching the forehead) was performed to cancel the betrothal. The ceremony was simple: the boy went to the girl's death-bed (or vice versa) with some sweetmeat, which he gave her saying 'dear sister, take this sweetmeat,' and she accepted it as from a brother. Every effort was made by the sick child's relatives to prevent the other child from coming to perform this ceremony at their house, because, if once performed no other respectable family would marry with them, while on the other side strenuous efforts, which sometimes resulted in severe affrays, were made

1. Hugel, 344—346.

2. D. G. Lahore 1893, pp. 94.

3. See Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab 1892, p. 169.

4. Census 1881, p. 356.

to get at the sick child, and occasionally, in order to obtain access to the house, disguise was resorted to. If these efforts failed, it was sufficient to effect sawan or striking the head against the wall of the sick child's house, and, if the child died, this could be done within four days after the death. If neither be performed, the surviving child could not get a second spouse. The idea underlying these rites appeared to be that the betrothal was virtually a marriage, that the death of one party, before the contract was cancelled, made the other a widower or a widow, and that the survivor as such was so ill-starred that he or she could not obtain a new alliance¹.

Marriage. Among Mahommedans marriage was a civil contract. Among Hindus, Sikhs and Jains, it was in theory a sacrament, indissoluble save by death, and not even by death as far as the wife was concerned. But practice did not follow precept; and among the lower Hindu and Sikh castes remarriage (*karewa*) was allowed, while in the Himalayas women were sold from hand to hand and a system of temporary marriage prevailed². Amongst Hindus, strictly speaking, there were two distinct forms of marriage in vogue. The first was a religious rite, which was in theory indissoluble, for Hinduism recognised no legal form of divorce, while the second was celebrated without any religious observance. In the case of a woman the former right could only be solemnized once in a life-time, so that widow re-marriage, if permitted at all, could only be celebrated by the lower rite.

The characteristics of a religious marriage, apart from the ritual, were that the bride was to be given, not sold for a price or exchanged, and that she should not have reached puberty, though the latter condition did not appear to be at all essential in the Panjab. A marriage at which the bride had been purchased was *usur*, *dwathi*, or *bata* (lit : price), and this was a degree lower than the exchange-betrothal (*sata*). When no consideration had been paid, the marriage was *pun*, a gift of the bride. This form of marriage was confined to the higher classes of the higher castes, for in every caste there were groups of lower status who more or less openly sold their daughters in marriage, or effected exchange betrothals³. Marriage, when *pun*, was usually celebrated at an early age, but this was not an invariable rule. When the girl was sold or exchanged,

1. Census 1901, p. 217.

2. I. G. J. P., i, 45.; Fitzgerald, 14.

3. See Gore, F. St. J., *Lights and Shades*, 97. In Kulu, a man wanting to marry, went straight to some house where he could get the best article for his money, offered the father of the fare one the sum to compensate him for her services and brought the girl home.

marriage was often deffered, partly in the hope that a better price of alliance would be obtained by the parents, and partly because it was difficult to find a purchaser for a very young girl. In the ordinary sale or exchange marriage there was no betrothal, and the bride went at once to her husband's house. Exchange marriages were probably most common amongst Aroras and were the rule amongst Ghirths. The Jats also favoured them, but amongst the lower classes of Jats sales were, perhaps, exceedingly common¹.

The ceremonies connected with marriage were of indefinite variety, the wedding especially being made an occasion for much costly hospitality and display. Among the Hindu agriculturists of the extreme east of the province, the seven circuits round the sacred fire, prescribed by Hindu law, formed the essential part of the marriage ritual, and the strict Hindus of the towns everywhere observed the same usage. Further west among the agriculturists the number was reduced to four, while in south-western districts the important part of the ceremony was the sirmel or the joining of the heads² of the parties. The Mahommedan form of marriage, simple in itself, had almost everywhere been coloured by the Hindu ritual³. Speaking generally, the marriage observances of the Mahommedans in the south-east Panjab differed a good deal from those of the centre and north-east districts. In the last, the Mahommedans were few in numbers. The Mahommedans of the western Panjab, had a good many characteristic usages which were not found among them in the centre or the east⁴.

Restrictions Upon Inter-Marriage. These restrictions were of three kinds, religious, tribal and social sanction. The religious restrictions were comparatively lax. Among Hindus a man could not marry a woman of the same patronymic (gotra) as his father or mother, or who was descended from paternal ancestors within six degrees; while among Mahommedans only the sister, niece, and aunt were excluded in addition to those in the direct line of descent. In both cases foster-kinship was as great a bar as blood relationship. But throughout the whole of the eastern Panjab, excepting perhaps the colonies of foreign Muslims such as Sayads, Mughals, and the educated classes of Mahommedan converts, tribal restrictions of a far more rigorous nature had taken the place of these

1. Census 1901, pp. 217—218; D. G. Hoshiarpur, Part A, 1904, p. 33.

2. See D. G. Multan 1901—02, p. 96.

3. I. G. I. P., i, 45.

4. Glossary of the Tribes and Castes, p. 813—see this book for full details of the marriage system and of the ceremonies connected with it. The account given here makes a very interesting study.

religious rules ; and the great mass of Mahommedan converts, Gujars, Rajputs, and the like, were as much bound by them as were their Hindu brethren. These tribal restrictions were based upon the two laws of exogamy and endogamy. Under the latter law a Jat could marry a Jat and a Gujar a Gujar while under the former a Man Jat could not marry a Man Jat, but a Jat of some other tribe. But the restrictions went further than this. Not only that a man could not marry into his father's, that is to say his own tribe ; but also into his mother's and his father's mother's tribe among most, and his mother's mother's also among some castes, were likewise forbidden to him¹. Moreover, as already explained, a man might not marry a woman of his own village or of any village which marched with it. Moreover in the east of the Panjab exchange of betrothal was thought disgraceful and if desired was effected by a triangular exchange, A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A. In the west, on the contrary, among all classes; in the hills and sub-moutane districts, apparently among all but the higher classes, and among the Jats almost everywhere except in the Jamuna districts, the betrothal by exchange was the commonest form.

The third class of restrictions were based upon social position and pride of rank. These restrictions may also be referred to two laws, which we may call the laws of isogamy and of hypergamy. The former forbade the parent to give his daughter to a man of any tribe which stood lower than his own. The latter or the law of hypergamy, compelled him to wed his daughter with a member of a tribe which would be actually superior in rank to his own. The law of hypergamy was, almost confined to the Khatri and Hill Rajputs and Brahmans, all of whom were also endogamous as regards the caste. The law of isogamy, while it necessarily governed the marriage of the very best classes of these three castes, since there was none higher into which to wed, was professed at least by all the dominant Muslim tribes or races of the western Panjab².

There were other minor restrictions. Amongst the Jats, hereditary feuds operated as a bar in several cases. Of these the most famous, as reported in 1891, was that between the Dhillon and Bal. There were other causes to prevent marriage. Thus the Sikka-Bhiana were once Bari Khatri and one of them was to marry a Malhotra's daughter, but he died during the ceremony, before the hethlewala rite had been completed. So, as reported in 1901, Sikkas and Malhotras did not intermarry.

1. see 'Infanticide' above.

2. Census 1881, pp. 355—356 ; D. G. Hoshiarpur, Part A, 1904, p. 24 ; D. G. Gurgaon 1910, pp. 51—52.

Muklawa. Throughout the larger portion of the Panjab, consummation did not take place till some years after marriage. When infant marriage, the bride and bridegroom did not come together till a second ceremony called muklawa, which took place after the interval of 3, 5, 7, 9, or 11 years after the wedding, girl's parents fixing the time¹.

Marriage Expenses. The expenses attended on marriages were, sometimes, very great. The whole of the poor, maimed, and leprous beggars of the country side collected at a marriage and had to be fed before they would depart. Friends not invited to a marriage took offence and ceased to be friends. Priests, Brahmans, Parohits and Faqirs, all claimed their dues and until a man had collected a large sum of money in hand, he did not wisely undertake a marriage for himself or for any member of his family². The case of the daughter, however, was difficult. If she could be married without ruin, well and good; if not, she must still be married³.

Polygamy. The religious character of the regular form of marriage was responsible among the higher classes like Khatris of the Chopra section and the Mahommedan Khojas of Bhera (in Shahpur), for a strong prejudice against a man's taking a second wife during the life time of the first⁴. But Polygamy was very common amongst the lower castes such as the Chamars, Chuhars, Dagis, Nais and several other menial and artisan castes. It was also common among the lower agricultural tribes especially those of the hills, Kanets, Ghirths, Gujars and Jats all practising it somewhat extensively. In all these classes, the probability was that polygamy was really a result of the institution of widow-remarriage, maintaining his brother's widow as he took the rest of his chattels, but among the Kulu Kanets at least, polygamy was a form of investment, as most of the field-work was done by the women. This also applied to the Kangra Ghirths, but in a less degree. On the whole the privilege of polygamy was very rarely taken advantage of by Hindus, and not often by Muslims, although by law and custom, Muslims could marry four and a Hindu two wives⁵. Thus the figures for whole of the province showed in 1881 that, there were only 101 wives after every 100 husbands. But

1. Census 1881, p. 355; it would be interesting to mention here that some times when sending the muklawa of the bride, mother wept and sometimes violently and noisily while the women of the family beat their breasts as if the girl were going to die. D. G. Delhi, 1920, pp. 60—61.

2. S. R. Lahore 1865—69, p. 60; D. G. Lahore 1893—94, p. 69; D. G. Gujrat 1892—93, p. 43.

3. Census 1881, p. 357.

4. Census 1901, p. 218.

5. Census 1901, p. 220; Census 1881, pp. 355—366.

this did not mean that so many as one in every 100 husbands took a second wife ; for those who were well enough off to take a second, often took a third and a fourth also, and thus the number of men who married more than one wife was smaller than the excess of wives over husbands¹. In 1901 only 11 per mille of the married males among Mahommedans were returned as polygamous, as against 6 per mille (still less) among Sikhs and the Hindus².

Polyandry. There were two recognised forms of the custom of polyandry : (1) the Nair form in which there was no need for the husbands to be brothers and (2) the higher or Tibetan in which they had to be brothers.

In the Panjab the latter form was almost the only one which existed, but instances of lower form occurred³. The ugliness of the Spiti woman, for instance, seemed to enhance and increase her charms with her countrymen, for they came tumbling over one another to marry her. She selected about a dozen of them and married them all atonce. It was said that these husbands were not jealous⁴.

Polyandry as an avowed institution might be said to be confined to the Spiti and Lahul parganas of Kangra, to Chamba-Lahul, Kanawar and the Saraj or highlands of Kulu and Mandi, though it was doubtless also practiced, more or less openly, by the lower castes throughout the Himalayan area, and, as a matter of fact, though the custom was not admitted, by the Jats of the plains⁵. Among the Jats of Gurgaon if one married brother was away, it would not, perhaps, give rise either to scandal or ill-feeling if his wife, during his absence, extended her favour to the rest of the fraternity⁶.

The practice however was not altogether a matter of locality, but of status, and in Spiti, which had a purely Tibetan population, monogamy was the rule, polyandry was only practiced among the dutalpas (or landless classes) and the buzhs, a descendants of the monks of the Pin monastery, which required no vow of celibacy from its numbers, and they had adopted the custom admittedly for prudential reasons, because they were a landless class⁷.

1. Census 1881, p. 365.

2. Census 1901, p. 220.

3. *ibid*, 220—221.

4. Fitzgerald 1902, p. 35.

5. Census 1891, p. 221 ; Census 1881, p. 365 ; S. R. Kangra District, 1874, p. 153.

6. Tupper, C. L, Customary Law, Vol. II, 1881, p. 95.

7. D. G. Kangra, Part IV, 84 ; Census 1901, p. 221,

On the other hand, the data obtained towards the close of the 19th century, for Kangra and Kanawar (in Bashahr), showed that though polyandry was essentially a Kenet practice, it was also not uncommon among Brahmans, and it occasionally occurred among the so-called Rajputs¹.

Widow Marriage. The law which forbade the remarriage of widows among Hindus, was observed in Panjab, only among certain castes or tribes who prided themselves upon their social standing. Among certain Mahommedan castes, such as the Sayads and Pathans, the rule existed, though not as an absolute prohibition, who could not be said to have borrowed it from the Hindus, for the same dislike to widow remarriage existed in the country-towns and villages of Arabia. Widow remarriage in the Panjab, however, was not a question of caste, but of status within the caste. Thus Jats almost always allowed widow remarriage but families of high social standing and, locally, certain tribes disallowed it. Some Ahir families also disallowed. On the other hand, Brahmans in certain localities practiced it, and so did the lower grades of Khattris².

Widow remarriage was practiced in the east and centre of the Panjab, or east of Chenab, among all but the lowest castes, that is to say among the Jats and all on the same or lower level, though as a woman could under no circumstance perform phera twice over, the ceremony employed was a less formal one known under the name of Karewa. And it assumed among them two very distinct forms. The first, and probably the original form was nothing more or less than the Jewish Levirate, by which the younger brother took the widow of the elder and raised up seed to his brother. In some cases the children begotten actually succeeded to the property of the deceased brother as his son. But the custom had been extended so as to permit of a man marrying by Karewa a widow of another caste whom he would not have married as a virgin by phera³. This was a curious violation of the law of endogamy and this was, perhaps, due to the prevailing view that widow re-marriage was a lower form of marriage, hardly better than legalized concubinage. The idea appeared to be that if a widow married at all, it did not matter much whether she be married inside the caste or without it, as the social disgrace would be much the same in either case. Thus in Karnal a Gujar could marry a Jat or a Ror widow, or even a woman of a menial caste, but the woman was then called her-hui, though it was still a real marriage. At the same time any marriage (without phera) out of one's caste, even if with a higher one,

1. Census 1901, p. 221.

2. Census 1881, p. 357 ; Census 1901, p. 219.

3. Census 1881, p. 357 ; Witchcraf, *History of Panjab*, 1846, p. 161.

was thought disgraceful¹.

Although the abolition of Sati was a thing to be carried through by all means, wrote Colon Mackenzie in 1857, still that the condition of a Hindu widow was often so lamentable as to make death almost preferable. She was obliged to submit to all kinds of austerities and fasts, and from the patriarchal mode of living in Panjab, too many jealous eyes were over the poor widow to allow of her escaping any of these inflictions². The custom of nonmarriage of widows among the Hindus condemned the widows to lifelong misery and was also the cause of a great deal of crime. Some young widows, who gave way to their passion and became pregnant, either procured abortion, or killed their children as soon as they were born, to avoid dishonour³.

Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar of Bengal, in a pamphlet published in 1855, had drawn the attention of the public to the fact that widow-remarriage was in consonance with the teachings of the Shastras. The result of the agitation led by him was that the Government of India legalized the remarriage of Hindu widow by passing an Act known as Act XV of 1856⁴. But the Act remained a dead letter ever since. Whereas the enactment of 1829 against widowburning had been prohibitive, and punished for acts done, the Hindu remarriage law of 1856 was permissive, and would not compel either men or women to do and act which they would rather leave undone. All that the law could say to a man or woman was, 'you may marry'; it could not with propriety say, 'You shall'⁵. Some papers in Panjab like *Aftab-i-Panjab* (27th June 1881) recommended to the Government to take some strong steps against non-marriage of widows as they had done against the system of Sati. An agitation in favour of widow-marriage had been set on foot in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Jullundur etc., and some widows were actually married among the higher castes⁶. The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore) of 17th September 1884, gave an account of a Hindu widow marriage which took place at Amritsar on the 10th idem under the auspices of the Arya Samaj. The couple belonged to the Arora caste⁷. And the Census Report of 1901 noted that, though it could not be said, how far the movement in favour of widow remarriage

1. Census 1901, p. 219.

2. Mackenzie, Colon, *Six years in Delhi*, p. 109.

3. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P., etc. 1881, p. 383.

4. Nehru, Kumari, (Edt.), *Our Cause*, 271—272; Murdoch, J—*the Women in India—1895*, pp. 126—127.

5. See Nehru, Kumari, 127; Murdoch, J—275.

6. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P. etc., 1881, p. 383.

7. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P. etc., 1884, p. 669.

had led to the re-marriage of young widows amongst the higher castes, the proportion of widowed females in 1901 was less than it was before, and this was the case in each of the main religions as the following figures show¹.

	Percentage of women over 15 who were widows		
	1901	1891	1881
All religions	22·0	23·2	24·8
Hindus.....	24·7	25·7	25·8
Sikhs.....	20·9	—	—
Mahommedans.....	20·1	21·1	21·3

Sati or Widow Burning. The objectionable treatment of women in India reached its climax in widow burning. That sons should roast their mothers alive when they became widows, seems too horrible an idea to enter the mind². Yet some Hindus in the nineteenth century, contended earnestly for the privilege.

When a woman intended to burn herself with her husband, her grief assumed a sublime character ; she shed no tear, she made no lamentations, she lay aside her veil, and no longer concealed her person from the eyes of men ; the thought of entering with her beloved into the blissful state beyond the grave—nay by this expiatory sacrifice, to have facilitated and prepared the way for him, gave her the incredible energy to dedicate herself to such a martyrdom. Women had been seen, wrote Leopold Vonnorliche in 1845, to pray and wring their hands in the flames ; others overcome by their sufferings, had rushed out of the fire, but were immediately driven back by those around them. A Foreigner who was witness of such a scene, took the part of the unhappy woman, and stopped the awful sacrifice ; but what was his surprise, when on the following day she overwhelmed him with the most virulent reproaches, saying that he had robbed her of salvation, and that she must now be an outcaste and a wanderer, neglected and despised by all³.

Sati was practiced by Sikhs too, and when Ranjit Singh died, four of

1. Census 1901, p. 219.

2. Murdoch, J—122 ; See also S. R. Southern Pargunahs of Ambala 1859, p. 94. ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, vol. i, 145—146.

3. Orlich, Captain Leopold Ven-translated by Evans Lloyd, vol. i, 170.

his wives, and seven of his female slaves committed themselves to the flames with his body¹.

Before the annexation of Panjab in 1849, Lord William Bantinck had in 1829, after suitable inquiries, passed a regulation declaring the practice of Sati illegal and punishable in the criminal courts. The Act extended only to British territory, but the influence of Government was used to secure its abolition in the Indian States. Stray cases were still reported at times ; but on the whole, the horrible custom was suppressed. But the whole of the educated class in Panjab could never be in favour of the abolition of Sati. Thus even as late as 1890, Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir (16th Mārch 1890), condemned the Government for sentencing a Hindu woman who attempted to become Sati with her husband, to 1½ years imprisonment for attempted suicide. The army, it argued, was maintained by Government for the express purpose of killing or being killed in battle, but soldiers were never charged with suicide or attempted murder. Under these circumstances, it was an insult to the Hindu religion to punish a woman who wished to burn herself alive with her husband in accordance with the tenets of her religion².

1. See Honigherger, p. 100 ; Orlich, Leopold Ven—vol. *i*, 1845. p. 170 ; Oman, Campbell John—1908, p. 111.

2. Home, Secret, Panjab, 1891, p. 110.

CHAPTER V

People, their Life and their Manners (*Contd.*)

(1)

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

“In no country in the world, does the religion of the inhabitants appear so prominent as in India, where every town has its different temples, from the meanest building which encloses the rudest idol, to the most gorgeous deities enshrined in pagodas with lofty towers, spacious courtyards, splendid colonnades, and walled tanks”, wrote Captain Leopold Vonorlich in 1845 concluding his travels in India, including Sindh and Panjab¹. The characteristics of race and religion in the Panjab, remained everywhere of greater importance than the accidents of position or the achievements of contemporary genius². Yet it was difficult to express in everyday language the vague mass of ideas which went to make up the religious beliefs of the people. In a system of religion where innumerable superstitions, magic, and curious quasi-physiological ideas all found a place, there was little room for a scheme of ethics, and it could be said that in India popular religion had rather less to do with morality than with anything else³.

A Pathan could repeat the Kulmah, or profession of faith : ‘There is one Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah’, and gable through his five appointed prayer-times, and do this with just as much unction and devotion when he was on his way to rob a neighbour or commit a murder⁴. Religion for the majority of Mohammedans, thus reported the Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District was only a rule of ceremonial purity for the social system. It regulated marriage, funeral and other ceremonies, but was not a guide to everyday conduct and belief, which was regulated by social conventions⁵. The religious duty of a Hindu Jat consisted in a vague

1. Vonorlich, Leopold—*Travels in India etc.*— vol. i, 243.

2. Cunningham, Devy—*History of the Sikhs*—, 1904, pp. 17—18.

3. Census 1901, 160.

4. Panjabee, Arnold, 1878, p. 93.

5. D. G. Rawalpindi 1907, pp. 81—82.

belief in an ill-defined creed, paying respect or stipends to Brahmans, performing or joining in ceremonies for dead ancestors, giving alms, bathing, pilgrimages, and above all things, venerating kine¹.

But if popular religion had but little to do with ethics, we could not say that the inner religion excluded them².

External characteristics of the different religions. It could perhaps be said that in the Panjab the most marked characteristic of the Hindu was thrift, of the Sikh was bravery, of the Buddhist honesty, and of the Mohammedan pride. But there were a few broad practical matters by which several religions could be distinguished. The Hindu, Jain and Buddhist believed in their respective Shastras, the Sikh in the Granth, and the Muslim in the Quran. The Hindu, Jain and Sikh prayed generally to the east, and never to the south; the Muslim prayed towards Mecca. The first three worshipped in temples, the last in the mosque. The first three again revered the Levitical caste of Brahmans, the Buddhists had a popular order of celibate monks, while the Muslim ministrants were chosen from among the congregations. The Hindu venerated the cow, would not kill animals, and often abstained from meat³, the Sikh was still more fanatical in his reverence for the cow, but killed and ate most other animals; the Mohammedan abhorred the pig and dog, but killed and ate most other animals; the Buddhist and Jain scrupulously respected all animal life. The Sikh abstained from tobacco, but substituted spirits and narcotics; the Hindu could indulge in all; to the Muslim spirits were forbidden. The Hindu and Jain shaved their heads with the exception of a scalp-lock; the Sikh allowed the hair of his head and face to grow uncut and untrimmed. The Muslim never shaved his beard, but always the lower edge of his moustache; he often shaved his head, and when he did so, he left no scalp-lock. The Muslim practiced circumcision, while the Sikh had a baptism of initiation and a ceremony of communion. The Hindu, Jain and Sikh married by circumambulation (phera), the Muslim by consent of the parties formally asked and given before. The former three burnt, the Muslim buried, and the Buddhist burnt, buried, or exposed his dead. The customs relating to eating, drinking and dresses etc. varied, the detailed study of which would be too lengthy⁴.

1. D. G. Jullundur, 1904, p. 122.

2. See Census 1901, p. 160.

3. Beef was forbidden for Hindus to such an extent that, a Hindu could still remain a Hindu in spite of all his contrary religious beliefs, he could be allowed to mix socially with whomsoever he pleased, he could scrupulously avoid attending any Hindu religious worship, and, if a Brahmana, he could even neglect to have his upvita (sacred thread), when he attained the proper age. But let him once eat beef, or even smell it, and he became outcaste for ever—See Indian Antiquary, LV, 153.

4. Census 1881, pp. 102—103.

(A) HINDUISM IN THE PANJAB

"A Faqir followed me in my walk, though at first I heeded him not, until seeing that he had no intention of departing, I turned sharply round and desired to know what he wanted ; to my surprise he answered, that he was a Naik, and had obtained six month's leave of absence from his corps in Ludhiana which he meant to pass as a Faqir at Jwala-Mukhi¹. The very thought of such a penitent made me smile, and then wonder at the singular character of the people of this country²." And again writing about the character of the Hindus another writer held that the Hindus were very unstable in their religious beliefs ; "some worship gods and goddesses and the shrines and burying places of the dead, and others, forsaking the religion of Vedas and Shastras, which was the primeval religion of the Hindus, have begun to do service to Sarwar Sultan, and demons and evil spirits ; and there are very few who worship God, the Creator, as their Maker and Destroyer according to the religion which was handed down to them from the beginning. Behold the people of other religions, how firm they are for they never forsake their own religion and adopt that of the Hindus ; but the Hindus are so unstable that, if they even hear the praise of a brick anywhere they begin to rub their noses against it for the sake of obtaining food or an offspring³." Yet a man had to be born Hindu—he could not become so⁴.

What actually Hinduism of the Panjab in 1881 was, Mr. Ibbetson the author of the Census Report admitted his inability to define. After forwarding the various arguments, he could only say that all natives of India who were not either Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, or Buddhists, had for all practical purpose to be classed as Hindus. While Hinduism in its purity could be defined as the religion of the original Aryan immigrants into India as set forth in the Vedas, Hinduism as it existed in 1881 perhaps could best be described as a hereditary sacerdotalism, with Brahmans for its levite, the vitality of which was preserved by the social institutions of caste, and which could include all shades and diversities of religion native to India, as distinct from the foreign importations of Christianity and Islam, and from the later outgrowths of Buddhism, more doubtfully of Sikhism, and still more doubtfully of Jainism. In

1. A Hindu place of worship.

2. Hugel, 1845, p. 46.

3. Court, Major Henry—(1888), p. 114—Translation of—Sikhan De Raj Di Vikhiya.

4. Mackenzie, Mrs Colin (1857), p. v.

short the term Hinduism was, in one sense, as much national as religious¹.

Most Hindus would say that they worshipped all the gods alike, and there were 33 crores of them to worship².

Gates of Hindu Olympus had ever stood open to the strange gods of the neighbourhood, and wherever Hindus had come into contact with worship other than their own, they had combined the two, and even had not unseldom given the former precedence over the latter. The Hindu of the plains worshipped the saints of his Muslim neighbour, and called his own original gods by Mohammedan names unknown to an Indian tongue; the Hindu of the Hills worshiped the devils and dieties of the aborigines, and selected for special honour that one of his own proper divinities whose nature was most akin to theirs; both mollified by offerings innumerable agencies, animal, human, demoniacal, or semi-divine, who were not perhaps ranked with the greater gods of the temples, but who might do harm, and to propitiate whom was therefore a wise precaution³.

The godlings of the villages⁴. Numerous were the godlings whom the Hindu in a village had to propitiate. These could broadly be divided into two classes, pure and the impure. To the formers pure food offerings were made, generally on a Sunday, and they were taken by Brahmans. To the latter were made the impure offerings, such as leavings from the meal, fowls, pigs, and so forth, never made on Sunday and were taken never by Brahmans, but by the impure castes. The former class of diety was benevolent; and the latter malevolent which were worshiped only by females and children at their mother's apron and not by men. The examples of the former class were 'Suraj Devta', 'Jamuna ji', 'Dharti Mata', 'Khwajah Khizr'; and that of the latter were the seven sisters the 'Sitala', or small-pox goddess, 'Masani', 'Basanti', 'Maha Mai', 'Polamde', 'Lamkaria', and 'Agwani,' 'Singhs', or snake-gods, occupied an intermediate place between the two classes. Worship of the sainted dead was universal; and they again could be divided into the sainted and the malevolent dead. Examples of the first were Pitir or ancestors, Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, Baba Farid, Guga Pir, Baoli Qalandar and the foremost among the latter were Gyals or sonless dead—it was believed that when

1. Census 1881, pp. 112—113.

2. Census 1891, p. 106.

3. Census 1881, p. 111.

4. For details see 'A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province, vol. I.

a man had died without a male issue he became spiteful, especially seeking the lives of the young sons of others¹. A curious practice of the worship at the tomb of a Mohammedan saint, named Shah Daula, at Gujrat in the Panjab was brought to notice by Akhbar-i-Am of Lahore in its issue dated 26th February 1879 and later on by Victoria Paper of Sialkot, in its issue dated 19th June 1882. When a woman had no child, she went to the tomb of Shah Daula Pir and took a solemn vow that if she was blessed with children, she would dedicate her first issue to the saint. Accordingly, when in the course of time she had a child, she offered it as a present to the saint at his tomb. The attendants of the tomb, called mujawars took the child, and so strongly pressed its head by means of a press that it became as small as that of a mouse, and did not increase in size in future. These children could neither speak nor walk. They lost all their intellectual faculties and became as brutes².

The idea that the Hindus had 33 crores of gods to worship may, indeed, seem more logical when we consider the fact that they went to the extreme of worshipping even the means of livelihood. Farmers worshipped their bullocks in Sawan and their ploughs at the Dasahra festival. Gaddi or mountain shepherds worshipped their sheep at the full moon in Asarh. Bankers and clerks worshipped their books and pens at the Diwali, Baniahs worshipped their weights at the Dasahra, Diwali and Holi festivals, and in a way every morning as well ; and so on³.

Superstitions and Beliefs. Superstitions of the people were very numerous and complex ; and any complete account of them would take months to write, and the necessary information years to collect⁴. Only very interesting of them, therefore, may here be mentioned.

Fate and fortune were believed in alike by low and high. Thus we learn that in 1847, Sardar Lehna Singh introduced a Benares Pandit to the Maharani who consulted him as to the fate of herself, the Maharajah, and her brother ; and answer being favourable she presented the Pandit with Rs. 2,000 and a roll of honour. Feeding the Fakirs and washing their feet was indeed a usual practice in the Palace⁵.

Remedies for certain diseases were sometimes curious. Thus a practice

1. See Temple, R. C.—The Legends of the Panjab—No. II, 1883, p. 66 ; Census 1881.

2. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P., etc., 1879, pp. 187—188 ; Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P. Oudh, etc., 1882, pp. 424—425.

3. Panjab Notes and Queries, Oct. 1885, p. 21.

4. See D. G. Rawalpindi, 1907, p. 83.

5. Political Diaries of the Agent to the Governor-Gen. N. W. F. and Resident at Lahore (1847 to 1848).

was noticed in 1884. After a nightfall the patient went and knocked at the door of a neighbouring house. As soon as the cry "who is there?" came from within, he said "Main han guhu dukhi. Tusan leti asan ditti (I am a person suffering from a nasty disease; as you have asked for it I give it to you). The inmates of the house rushed out at once to abuse and try to catch him, but the patient took to his heels and escaped them¹.

Burning houses to secure male issue was again a curious practice noticed in 1883. In April 1883 there were extensive fires in the Paharganj and Subzimandi suburbs of Delhi city. Various causes were assigned to the origin of these fires, and one among them was that they were the work of barren women, who were popularly supposed to become capable of bearing children by passing through an ordeal by fire. The existence of this belief was later on confirmed by a report received from Alwar, that the village of Rambunka was totally destroyed by fire, early in December 1883, with a loss of about 30 lives and numerous cattle. This fire occurred at night, and was said to be the work of a barren woman².

Baniahs of a village would, if the village took means to propitiate the gods who might bring them rain, use chapatis³ for a very unworthy purpose, and then expose them outside the village to show to the deity that there was no scarcity of food, and that he need not take the trouble to bring rain. The use of ghi in the lamp instead of oil could have the same object⁴.

A tribe known by the name of Bhajnal, inhabiting the hills near Aknur, was found in 1847 confidently believing that there were particular clouds on the tops of their hills which never moved from them to any other, but poured out their rain only on their own land. There was a party of Jogis or Hindu Faqirs living in that quarter, who were supposed to have these clouds in their power, and whenever water was required, they could make the rain fall. For this reason, these Jogis exacted a share from the produce of every field. If any refused the next year the bounty of heaven was either kept from his cultivation or the crop was destroyed by a heavy fall of hail⁵.

Witchcraft and spells (jadoo and moot) were noticed in 1846, to be having a powerful influence over the fancies and actions of the Chiefs

1. P. N. Q., vol. I, 1883, p. 100.

2. P. N. Q., vol. I, 1883, p. 64.

3. Cakes of wheat.

4. *ibid.* 109.

5. Ali, *Shahmat—Sikhs and Afghans—(1847)*, pp. 123—124.

and other inhabitants of the Sikh states¹. Witchcraft proper, however, was found chiefly confined to the lowest castes in 1881, but in the hills, magic was said to be common². In the Panjab, the inhabitants practiced a sort of animal-magnetism, which they called jara, or manter. It was employed for inflammatory, rheumatic and nervous pains, especially in the eyes, ears, and teeth etc³.

Evil eye was firmly believed in. Thus the proverb was known in Muzaffargarh :—

Sap da khada bachde.

Nazar da khada nahin bachde.

The snake-bitten escapes.

He that is affected by the evil eye escapes not⁴.

Good and bad omens were innumerable. Black was unlucky, and if a man went to build a house and turned up a charcoal at the first stroke of the spade, he would abandon the site. Some of the superstitious ceremonies attending birth were very curious. If a boy be born a net was hung over the door way, a charm stuck on to the wall, and a fire lighted on the threshold, which was kept up night and day to prevent evil spirits from passing. Traces of tree and animal worship were still there. Most of the Fig tribe members and especially Pipal and Bar, were sacred and their leaves were not removed except in dire famine condition⁵. Regard for animal life, sometimes, reached its absurd extremity. Thus Baron Charles Hugel who wrote an account of his travel in the Panjab in 1836-37, happened to kill a vampire or large bat (at Nurpoor). People surrounded him and there was a danger to his life, which he saved only after a long time being closed in a house and towards night when he prevailed upon the multitude. He says thus : "I harangued the multitude with such happy effect on my sorrow for this mishap, and the precautions I would take in future, that their hearts were gradually softened, and to my infinite relief, I was permitted to find my way back to my tent, with life and liberty⁶.

Agricultural superstitions, connected with cattle and agriculture, were numerous. In Ludhiana thus, a Jat had to, before he began to prepare

1. History of the Panjab and of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the sect and Nation of the Sikhs (1846), vol. i, p. 136.

2. Census 1881, p. 117.

3. Honigherger, John Martin—(1905), p. 153.

4. Muzaffargarh, S. R. 1873—80, p. 72.

5. Census 1881.

6. Hugel, 59.

his fields by ploughing for any harvest, ask the Brahmin whether the land was awake or asleep. If he was told that it was asleep, he had to wait for six days till it woke. Then he could go on ploughing it whenever he liked¹. The water courses, the sprouting seeds, the ripening ears, were all in charge of separate genii in the hills, who had to be duly propitiated².

Animal Sacrifice :—Hinduism of the hills was sadly unorthodox, for though Hindus in name, and honouring the names of the Hindu divinities, they were practically demon-worshippers, whose religious zeal was in proportion to their superstition³. Animal sacrifice among these people was a usual rite and was made in marriages, festivals, funerals, harvest time, purification, thanksgiving and propitiation etc. Major Archer, who published the account of his tours as early as 1833, relates a very interesting incidence of one such sacrifice which he happened to see at Pecca, during his journey from Simla to the Borendo pass. Thus he says :—

An unfortunate goat, lean and emaciated, was brought as an offering to the deities, but so poor in flesh was he, that no crow could have waited his death in hopes of a meal from his carcase. The tragic part of the ceremony began. Some water was thrown at the back of the animal, and the assembly awaited his shaking his head in a particular way, which was construed to mean : "The God speaks within him" and denotes by such sign His acceptance of the victim. On this occasion, having ample cause to be incensed at the attenuated appearance of the offering, He flatly refused, and per consequence, the goat was immovable. A supposed never-failing resource was then tried. Some water was spilled into the goat's ear ; still he was inflexible, and no confirmatory symptom appeared. All this looked badly. The goat walked about, and much whispering took place as to the probable cause to be assigned for the non-acquiescence of the gods for fair weather to our party to the pass, which indeed was the object and purport of the ceremony. The Fates were against the poor animal, as they had been against all goats placed in similar situation, and though he determinedly refused to nod, yet it was unanimously voted that he had done so. The truth of this evidence could never have been admitted in any court of law. Forthwith out-stepped a man with a Goorcha knife, and with one blow the head was separated from the body. The warm tide of life escaped, and

1. S. R. Ludhiana, 1878—83, p. 62.

2. Census 1881.

3. Gore, F. St. J. 1895, p. 11.

deluged the stones ; the instruments brayed their dissonance ; the croud shouted, and each made his vow and petitioned the deity for what he wanted. The head was set apart for the gods, the blood flowing from it having been sprinkled over them, as it was over the musical instruments. The carcase became the perquisite of the priests, who must not have had either weakness of tooth, or queasiness of stomach, to make a meal of it¹.

Human Sacrifice. Throughout the Kangra mountains, to Kali Devi as well as to Lhas human sacrifices were offered up to the time of the English. An old cedar tree was cut only few years before 1881 to which a girl annually was offered by families in turn². A curious ceremony was noticed in 1833 by Major Archer, in a village "Shumsheer-Ka-Mahadeo" in Kulu. There was a temple of great repute, the ceremony of a "jug" being performed annually. This consisted of a man sliding down a large rope, which was fastened to some overhanging rock or tree, and, the lower end being brought to another fixture, was stretched to utmost, sometimes across a small valley. The operator voluntarily offered to ride down in honour of the god. Should the rope break, which did not often occur, the man, as could easily be supposed, broke his neck and the temple lost odour of sanctity until some fortunate individual successfully performed the feat. He then received a largess from the Brahmins, and the crowd liberally contributed their gifts in money, ornaments, and goods : the rope which was made of grass, was afterwards passed round the sanctum of the temple, just under its projecting part of the roof, and was there preserved³.

The Differences :—There was one curious difference between the gods of hills and those of the plains. The former were purely territorial, each little state or group of villages having its own deity, and the boundaries between their jurisdictions being very clearly defined. Each temple had its own feasts, at which neighbouring deities would attend. Idols were almost unknown and almost every diety had a metallic mask which was at stated period tied on the top of a pole dressed up to represent the human form, placed in a sedan chair, and taken round to make visits to the neighbouring divinities or to be feasted at a private house in fulfilment of a vow.

1. Archer, Major—Tours in Upper India 1833, pp. 289—290. See also Mundy, Capt. (Pen and Pencil Sketches) 1833, p. 242. He mentions a similar observance prevailing in Simla.

2. Census 1881.

3. Archer, Major—1833 vol. i, pp. 227—228.

Hinduism on the frontier was extremely lax in observance of ceremonies and caste restrictions. That was perhaps because there the Hindus before the British rule existed by sufferance only and were compelled to keep their faith in the back ground. Moreover a very considerable proportion of the Hindus on the frontier, and especially in the Derajat, were Nanki Sikhs or followers of Baba Nanak, as distinguished from Singhi Sikhs or followers of Guru Gobind Singh while even such as did not openly profess these tenets were much influenced by them in their mode of life.

Generally it could be said that in the districts bordering Jamuna to the east of the province and those lying in the hills of Kangra, Hindu religion was least corrupted, because there the people had turned to foreign creeds in the smallest number. Religion of the sub-montane tract was midway between that of the hills and that of the plains, while eastern Hinduism obtained almost unchanged to the borders of Rajputana and as far West as Lahore, and then as we entered the purely Muslim portion of the province, rapidly changed to the type prevailing on the frontier¹.

Progress of Hinduism. In the census of 1855, all population were marked as either Hindus or Muslims and nothing was known about outcasts. The census of 1868 was better. Sikhs were distinguished while Buddhists or Jains, though shown together, were separated from other religions. So the following figures which were the proportions of religions, were not correct².

	1855	1868	1881
Muslims.....	5,329	5,302	5,583
Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists.....	4,671	4,149	4,399
Others.....	—	5,49	18
Total.....	10,000	10,000	10,000

The chief point of interest noticed in the census of 1901 was the slow progress of Hindu element in population, as compared with the others. Although Sikhs added absolutely more to their number than the Hindus

1. Censns 1881.

2. *ibid.*, 108.

between 1891 and 1901, the two combined had only increased by 4.1 percent where as Muslims had added an increase of 8.8 percent.

It was thought difficult to explain why Hindu element was so stationary. It was impossible in Panjab to ascribe it to the famines of the decade (1891—1901), for the Muslim was assuredly the poorest element in the population, so that it was to be anticipated that the effects of scarcity would be more evident in its figures than in those of any other religion. The causes seemed to be better sought in the differences in the social systems which formed the material structures of the great religions. Broadly it could be said that Hinduism placed artificial restraints on marriage, thus leading to a scarcity of women, and other attendant evils. Its customary law, which the English law-courts had stereotyped, excluded females from succession to land, and tended to make the Panjab the land of sons only. The Jat peasant, whether Hindu or Sikh, closely resembled the French peasant in his thrift and land hunger, and he was hardly inferior to the Hindu of the commercial castes in the capacity for petty trading. In times of prosperity these characteristics had little or no effect on the population, but in a periods of scarcity and depression of trade they began to tell, and as competition became keener it could be conjectured that the Hindu population would increase but slowly, accumulating capital rapidly, while the Muslims would fast add to their numbers alone. Already in Amritsar and other centres of trade, manufactures were carried only by Hindu capitalists and Muslim artisans¹.

(B) SIKHISM

While Hinduism could be described as a social rather than a religious organisation, Sikhism, it might be said, was something more than a religious system. The term Sikh, implied acceptance of the tenets held by the Gurus, and, as in all eastern religions, these tenets were partly religious and partly connected with social observances².

The difference between Sikhs and Singhs may here be explained. Formers were the followers of Baba Nanak, while the latter also of Gobind. When Guru Gobind Singh accepted all castes equally in Sikhism, high castes resented and remained Sikhs while many low castes became Singhs. In common practice, however, it is Singhs who were called Sikhs.

The Sikh rules of conduct laid down by Guru Gobind were, always

1. Census 1901, pp. 113—114.

2. *ibid.*, 122.

wear five k's¹, dress in blue clothes and especially eschew red or saffron-coloured garments and caps of all sorts, keep personal cleanliness, especially in hair, practice ablution, eat jhatka², abstain from tobacco, eat with head covered, pray and recite passages of the Granth morning and evening and before all meals, reverence cow, do not worship saints and idols, avoid mosques and temples, worship one God, neglect Brahmans and Mullas and their scriptures, teaching, rites and religious symbols. Caste distinctions were not to be observed, parshad or communion, in which cakes of butter, flour, and sugar were made and consecrated with certain ceremonies while the communicants sat round in prayer, was to be distributed equally to all the faithful present, of whatever caste³.

But the Sikhs had already deviated from the system of the founder of the sect, before the Panjab was annexed⁴. It must be obvious, that the religious opinions of the Sikhs were no less at variance with the dogmas of Hinduism than they were in opposition to those of Islam. Still, the inveterate hostility with which they regarded the progress of the latter faith had induced an involuntary inclination in them, in favour of the votaries of Brahma⁵. They abhorred tobacco, and called it by a name of poison; to balance the account, they were "determined drunkards and inordinate devourers of opium." The unlimited indulgence in these two vices rendered them liable to a multitude of ailings during life, and almost always superinduced a premature death⁶.

The recital of Granth was no more a daily practice with the Sikhs. Blue clothes were now only confined to the Akalis⁷. In matters of worship of local saints and deities of employment and reverence for Brahmans there was little, while in current superstitious practice there was no difference between Hindu and Sikh villagers. In respect of caste restrictions Sikhs were somewhat more lax than their neighbours, but this did not mean as much as might at first sight appear⁸.

Born of a Sikh father, a Sikh was not himself counted of the faith until he had received the baptism of the pahul. Thus the supply of can-

1. Kachh, kara, kirpan, kangha and kais (breeches, steel bangle, sword, comb and hair respectively).

2. The flesh of an animal killed all at once and not by some slow process.

3. Census 1881, p. 136; Bingley, pp. 54—56.

4. Masson, Charles, 417.

5. *ibid*, 423.

6. Archer, Major, 181.

7. A Sikh order of ascetics. They were 'nihang' or 'reckless' soldiers of 'Akal' or 'Immortal'. The order was founded by Guru Gobind Singh in person. See for details—Census 1881, pp. 286—287.

8. Census 1881, p. 137.

didates for baptism was apt to rise or fall with the popular estimate of the advantages to be derived from joining the communion. During the days of Ranjit Singh when spiritual fervour and national pride worked in common, the numbers who joined the national faith were proportionately great. But after the British conquest of the Panjab, Sikhism lost much of its old popularity. The Mutiny brought about an immediate revival of Sikhism. Being as anxious as the British to restore order and avert the threatened revival of the Mughals in India, the Sikhs were now no longer regarded with suspicion by the English. They got renewed prestige with the result that new candidates from among the Jats and lower castes joined the faith in a considerable number. Since those days of enthusiasm, however, a reaction had naturally set in.

The younger generation found the restrictions imposed on them by their religion, particularly in the matter of tobacco, most irksome. And the strongly attractive force of Hinduism was too strong for Sikhism to resist absorption.

The figures of population showed in 1881 that the Sikh faith had considerably decreased in Panjab since annexation, its proportion per 10,000 of all religions being 650 in 1868 and only 595 in 1881, and remarked Mr. Ibbetson, that notwithstanding the stimulous of the Kabul campaign, Sikhism was on the decline, though the figures of the next census had to be awaited before any very definite conclusion could be reached. And the modern Sikhism, in fact, it was reported in 1899, was to a large extent preserved from extinguishing by the encouragement it received from the Indian Army, which, by exacting a rigorous observance of the outward signs of the religion from all its Sikh soldiers, kept the advantages of the faith prominently before the eyes of the recruit-giving classes¹.

But the figures of the census of 1901 showed that the number of Sikhs had increased since 1891 by 13·9 per cent. In 1901, the Sikhs numbered 2,130,987 as against 1,870,481 in 1891 and this increase according to the Census Report of 1901, was possibly at the expense of Hinduism², for the Hindus showed an increase only of 2·4 per cent. Further, however, the things could not be explained. The increase in the number of Sikhs was confined to the more central tracts of the Panjab for in the south-east, in the Himalayan area and in the extreme south-west the numbers had decreased in a more or less marked degree³.

1. Bingley (1899), pp. 56—58 ; Census 1881, pp. 140—141.

2. See Hinduism discussed above.

3. Census 1901, p. 122.

(C) BUDDHISTS AND THE JAINS

The Buddhists and Jains of the Panjab formed only a very small proportion of the total population. In 1881, Spiti and the higher parts of Pangri in Chamba were the only places the inhabitants of which returned themselves as Buddhists. In the census of 1891, some inhabitants of Lahul returned themselves as Buddhists, but in 1901 their number was reduced to 50 percent of that of 1891. The number in Chamba also was reduced, the reason being that the Buddhists did not much care always to differentiate themselves from their Hindu neighbours, and transition from Hindu to nominal Buddhists religion that existed in the Panjab, and back again, was not much difficult. The total number of Buddhists in 1901 was only about 7 thousands. Buddhism of the Punjab was of the most corrupt form. Like Hinduism, Buddhism too had become impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes¹. It was in fact nothing more than a strange mixture of metaphysics, mysticism, morality, fortune-telling, juggling, and idolatry². Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods and House Gods had a more say in the daily life of the people than Buddha and his teachings³.

Great mass of the Jains, in 1881, were found in the eastern districts, the Delhi Division, Rohtak, and Hissar, comprising 67 percent of all the Jains of the British territory. Next came the submontane districts, while in the hills and in the western plains, Jains could be said to be unknown. 99 percent of the Jains belonged to the trading classes in the Panjab, and almost exclusively to the Banya and Bhabra castes⁴. In 1901, a slight tendency for the Jain community to spread in the central Panjab, was noticed. But no members of the community were returned in the Buddhist tracts and very few in the trans-Indus districts. The total number of the Jains in the Panjab was considerably higher than that of Buddhists, being 50,020 in 1901 and this figure was higher than that of The census of 1891 by 9.5 percent⁵. The Jainism, if not purely a Hindu sect, was at any rate nearer to that religion than to the creed of Buddha. Jains, besides their own saints, worshipped the whole Hindu Pantheon, including the Puranic Heroes, and placed their images in their temples⁶.

1. Census 1881, pp. 126—129 ; Census 1901, p. 141 ; I. G. I. P., I, 53.

2. Moorcraft & Trebeck, p. 340

3. Census 1881, pp. 126—127.

4. Census 1881, pp. 132-133.

5. See Census 1901.

6. Census 1881, pp. 130-131.

(D) THE MOHAMMEDANISM

The Panjab by religion was more Mohammedan than Hindu¹. The early Sultans made Delhi a great centre of Mohammedan influence, but they and their successors appeared to have left the Hindus of the Panjab unmolested in religious matters until the Mughal empire was firmly established. Akbar's policy of religious toleration lessened the gulf between the two creeds, but many Mohammedan tribes ascribed their conversion to the zeal of Aurangzeb².

The Mohammedans in India had adopted Hindu prejudices of caste to such an extent, that they would not eat with Christians. They were divided into two great sects of Shiahs and Sunis, who detested each other all over the world, and who could scarcely be restrained from open warfare, while both parties were extremely ignorant of their own religion. All Muslims were ardent proselytizers and fanatics, and took upon the slaughter of an infidel as a short cut to Paradise. The war cry of the Mohammedan was *Din Din* (Religion) and scarcely anything could hold him back when this cry was raised³.

After the mutiny, Mohammedan priests travelled far and wide and preached true faith calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices. And by 1881, almost every village in the Panjab, having a considerable portion of Muslims had its mosque, while all the grosser and more open idolatries were discontinued. But the villager of the East of the Province was still a very bad Muslim, the superstitions were all common among Hindus and Muslims. Even on the frontier, where Islam was of course pre-eminently the religion of the people, the religion was of the most impure description. Superstitions were even more numerous and deep rooted among the Mohammedans of the west than among the Hindus of the east. The only practical difference between Hindu and Muslim on the frontier was that the latter worshiped saints only and the former godlings as well, and while the former held in but small reverence the Brahman on whom he squandered his substance, the latter trembled before the priest whom he sustained in idleness.

Purists among the Muslims were the Wahabi sect, founded by Mohammad, a son of Abdul Wahab, who was born in Najd in 1691 A.D., the doctrines of which were introduced in India by one Saiyad Ahmad Shah of Rai Bareilly⁴. The Wahabi Schism held to the creed of

1. See the above figures discussed for Hinduism.

2. I. G. I. P., i, 50.

3. Mackenzie, Mrs. Colin (1857), p. v.

4. Census 1881, pp. 142-147.

Mohammed the same relation as the 'Sikh' religion to the Hindu faith. They would allow none of the doctrines which associated Mohammed with the Deity, holding him to have been a mere mortal. They abjured anything like idolatry in the paying of honours to deceased saints, or erecting mausoleums over their remains, and admitted of no repetitions of prayers over rosaries or beads. As a matter of religious practice, the smoking of tobacco was unlawful¹. There were Wahabi colonies at Polosi on the Indus, and at Sittana and Mulkah in independent Yusufzai tracts beyond Banu. But Wahabi doctrines seemed to have found much favour with the lower classes in Bengal, and Patna was head quarter of the sect in India in 1881. Politically their most important and obnoxious opinion was that they were bound to wage war against all infidels and in 1874 the Government of India received the information that Whabis in Panjab were increasing their number to break out some day like Kukas². But it was reported in 1881 that the Whabis within the British territory did not seem to be as fanatical in this respect as their brothers elsewhere³. In 1901, Whabis in the Panjab were reported to be of still lesser importance than formerly⁴.

A very important factor in Mohammedan religious life was the Sufi influence which, originally in Persia, was brought into the Panjab by the early Sultans of Ghor. Its first great exponent was the saint Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar. His disciple Baba Farid-ud-din Shakarganji of Pakpattan in Montgomery district, was perhaps the most widely revered saint in the Panjab; and the shrine of his disciple Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Aulia, near Delhi, was also a place of great sanctity. Spiritual descendants of these saints founded shrines at Maharan in the Bahawalpur State, at Tamsa Sharif in Dera Ghazi Khan district, and elsewhere. The province was studded with Sufi shrines⁵.

(E) THE CHRISTIANITY

The total Christian population in the Panjab in 1901, amounted to 71,854 souls, of whom 38,513 were Indian Christians whose number had risen from 3,912 in 1881 and were now nearly twice as numerous as they were in 1891. Between 1881 and 1891 the Indian Christians added 15,838, and between 1891 and 1901 they had added 18,763 to their

1. Panjabee, Arnold (1878), p. 15.

2. Home 1874, Judicial, May, 6.

3. Census 1881, pp. 147—148.

4. Census 1901, p. 167.

5. I. G. I. P., i, 50.

numbers. This increase was practically confined to the British territory, for only 285 Indian Christians were returned in all the Indian States in 1901. The most noticeable increase was in Delhi, but with this exception it was clear that the progress of Christianity was confined to the Western portion of the area where the influence of Sikhism had been most powerful. Sweepers or Chuhras were the castes which contributed the most¹.

Excluding the jesuits at the Mughal court, the first Christian missionary to the Panjab was a Baptist preacher who visited Delhi early in the 19th century. Delhi and Simla were the only stations which were occupied by this mission just at the beginning of the 20th century. The first great missionary movement in the Panjab proper was the establishment of the American Presbyterian Mission at Ludhiana in 1834. The Ludhiana Mission, as it thus came to be called, later on occupied a number of stations in the central Panjab south of the Ravi. The Church Missionary Society began operations in the Panjab in 1851, and developed stations comprising a group round Amritsar and Lahore, and a long line of frontier stations strictly from Simla to Karachi in Sind. It established a college in Lahore which prepared Indians for holy order. The society for the propagation of the Gospel began work in Delhi in 1852. In 1877 it was reinforced by the St. Stephen's College at Delhi. Other Missionaries were the Methodist Episcopal, the Church of Scotland, the Moravian, the American United Presbyterian, the Zanana Bible and Medical Missions, and the Salvation Army, besides the missionary work conducted by various Roman Catholic orders².

(2)

HINDU MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relations between Hindus and Muslims in the Panjab were not always cordial. Thus in 1881 the readings of the Panjab papers showed that a number of collisions between the Hindus and the Mohammedans had occurred during the year in the Panjab. Hindu papers were the foremost in mentioning these incidents and it was the slaughter of kine to which special objections were taken³.

In 1886, some incident took place in Etawah (Uttar Pradesh) where according to the Muslims in the Panjab, the Hindus and the local authori-

1. Census 1901, p. 58,

2. I. G. I. P., i, 52—53.

3. Home 1882, Public, B, March, 11—13.

ties had badly dealt with the Muslims. How far some of the Muslims in Panjab were excited with the incidence may be judged from an article which was published in Mulla Dopiazza of Lahore—an Urdu Muslim paper—in its issue dated 3rd November 1886, which at one place read : “Mohammedans, lovers of your national honour, do you know what has occurred in Etawah. There your brethrens have been destroyed (literally have been mixed with the dust and blood) ; the lives of your brethren have been sacrificed for the offence of performing a religious rite..... Mohammedans ! Sacrificer of lives for the sake of religion ! Spare no pains in defending your religion. Do not wait for another occasion when a still more evil may befall you¹.”

In its issue dated 17th May 1888 *Paisa Akhbar* (Gujranwala) strongly objected to the existence of a slaughter house at Gujranwala within 300 yards of the city². In 1892 a case in which certain Mohammedans of the Jind State were accused of slaughtering the cattle caused some excitement. Some ill-feeling was again caused between the two sects by the publication of Pandit Lekh Ram, a prominent member of Arya Smaj, of a pamphlet containing strictures on the Mohammedan religion. The pamphlet in question professed to be reply to a book written against the Arya by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Kadian.

Again, the *Aftab-i-Panjab*, in its issue of the 26th January 1892, stated that the relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans of Tora and Jaha in the Peshawar had become strained owing to the latter having taken to killing cattle on the banks of the Kaththa, from which the Hindus were in the habit of taking water. The *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera) complained that the Mohammedans in the frontier districts terrorized their Hindu fellow-subjects and compelled them to embrace Islam³.

The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* went so far as to publish in its issue of the 19th October 1893, a communication to the effect that owing to the religious and other differences which existed between the various communities inhabiting India, it was indispensable for the maintenance of peace that the government of the country should be in the hands of a class altogether unconnected with the Indians, and that fortunately this condition was fulfilled by the English.

In 1893, owing to the occurrence of the riots at Azamgarh and Ballia (Uttar Pradesh), followed by those at Bombay, the Kine-slaughter

1. Home 1890, Public, B, January, 292/317.

2. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab—1888, p. 56.

3. Home, 1893, Public, May, 125—126, B.

question assumed an unusual degree of significance and was by far the most widely discussed subject in the papers of the Panjab. In more than one instance, the riots which arose out of the Kine-slaughter agitation, were attributed to the inexperience of the young officers placed in charge of the districts, while the *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi) even went so far as to assert that Government officials deliberately provoked ill-feeling between the two communities in order to win a name for themselves by suppressing the disturbances which they had originated. Several attempts were also made to prove that the key-note of the policy of the Government officials was 'divide at impera.'

Numerous articles appeared during the year extolling the economic excellence of the cow apart from the sacred character as an object of worship to the Hindus. Comparisons were also drawn to the friendly relations existing between the Muslims and the Hindus under the old Mohammedan Rulers, in contrast to the existing state of feeling between the two communities. At the same time it was somewhat inconsistently asserted that under the existing regime the Hindus had become wealthy and powerful and were anxious to play off old scores on their Mohammedan fellow-subjects¹.

In 1901, however, it was noticed that the old orders were passing away. A District Census Report noticed that there were no wanting signs that the old personal sects and the old fanaticism were losing ground. Movements like the Arya Samaj, the Singh Sabha and the Deo Dharma, were not led by individuals claiming to be inspired or even semi-divine personages, but were organisations founded on certain principles, incorporated under the law, and partially endowed. Another report from Ferozepur asserted that no sects of importance had sprung up in that district during the past 10 years, but signs of decay in religious movements were visible here and there. For instance, it continued, ten years or more back there was always some fear of religious riots at the time of Moharram between the two Mohammedan sects, Shiahs and Sunnis. In 1901 not only did the Mohammedans show less interest in the display of tazia which were getting fewer in number every year, but the bitterness of feeling between the sects was not so marked.

Apparently both Hindus and Mohammedans were on the whole less inclined to listen to their religious leaders and looked upon the sects like Kuka almost with disfavour. Whabis according to the settlement Collector of Multan, were believed to be of less importance than formerly

1. Home, 1894, Public, May, 98—99 B.

and the animosity between them and other Muslims had decreased. Even in the most backward districts of the North-West Frontier, there were evidences that fanaticism was on the wane. The influence of mullahs as spiritual leaders was declining and in Dera Ismail Khan the Syeds possessed in 1901 far less influence than they formerly did, and transfers of land to them by their disciples were less frequent¹.

(3)

THE CASTE SYSTEM

“One of the corner stones of the civilization of India, the civilization which is as ancient as that of Egypt, is the institution of caste”. The caste holds a prominent place in the economy of Indian life, and has been the distinguishing mark of the civilization of India since the dawn of history². Though characteristic of Brahmin institution, caste dominated whole of India during the 19th century and exercised no small influence over the powerful Mohammedan minority³.

But as an institution, caste played far less important part in the social life of the people in Panjab than in other parts of India. Its bonds were stronger in the east than in the west, and generally in the towns than in the villages, so that in the rural areas of the western Panjab society was organized on a tribal basis ; and caste hardly existed⁴. And indeed wherever the caste existed, it was hardly according to the principles of the Sastras.

According to the sayings of the Sastras, eight kinds of classes are known in India ; of these four, viz.—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisas and Sudras, are called *varan* or castes ; and four, namely Girists, Brahmarsh, Banprastas, and Sunniasas are called *Asram* or religious orders⁵. And of the castes particularly the popular conception is that (1) it is an institution of the Hindu religion, (2) that it consists of a fourfold classification of people as mentioned above ; (3) and that the caste is perpetual and immutable and has been transmitted from generation to generation throughout the ages of Hindu history and myth without the possibility of change.

1. Census 1901, pp. 167—168.

2. Indian Antiquary, LX, 1931, p. 49.

3. Smith, Vincent—Oxford History of India—1923, pp. IX—X. See also Dubois Abbe, Hindu Manners, pp 300—301.

4. I. G. I. P., i. 48.

5. Court, Major Henry 1888, p. 100 ; In Bhagavad Gita, the duties of Brahmans, Kashatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras have been apportioned to the qualities born of their own (bodily) nature—See S. Charles Hill, Indian Antiquary LIX, 196.

But as against this all, the caste which existed in the Panjab was (1) a social more than a religious institution and it had no necessary connection whatever with the Hindu religion ; (2) there were Brahmans who were looked upon as outcastes, there was no such thing as Vaisya then existing, it was very doubtful indeed whether there was such a thing as a Kshatriya, and if there was, not two people were agreed as to where to look for him and Sudra had no significance save as a convenient term of abuse, while the number of castes which could be classed under any or under no one of the four heads, according as private opinion may vary, was almost innumerable ; (3) the fact that a generation was descended from an ancestors of any given caste created a presumption, and nothing more¹.

Nor did the janeo in the Panjab play the same part as in other provinces. In other provinces of India, society was divided into two great groups, (1) the twice-born castes which wore the sacred thread, and (2) the other castes. At the head of the first group stood the Brahmin. In the Panjab this idyllic system was not to be found. The twice-born castes did not all wear the sacred thread, while on the other hand it was often worn by those whom orthodox Hindus would regard as Sudras and not as twice-born².

The Caste Organization. Socially the landed classes stood high, and of these the Jats were the most important. The Jats were divided into numerous tribes and septs. Next in importance were the Rajputs, many of whom were Mohammedans. The Hindu Rajputs were found mainly in the south-east corner of the province, and in the Himalayan and submontane tracts, were the Rajput tribes of the plains having for the most part accepted Islam. As a body the Rajputs stood higher than the Jats in the social system, and this had prevented their adherence to the levelling doctrines of Sikhism. Below these classes, both socially and numerically, stood the Mohammedan Arains, the Hindu and Sikh Sainis and the Kambohs. In the south-east of the province, the Ahirs held a position, little, if at all, inferior to the Jats. In the Himalayas of the north-east Panjab, the Kenets and Ghirths formed great cultivating classes under Rajput overlords. In the south-west the Gakhars, Khokhars, and Awans and further and south the Pathans, took the position held by Rajputs elsewhere. In the south-west, especially in Dera Ghazi Khan district west of the Indus, the Balochs formed a dominant race of undoubted Iranian descent. Essentially pastoral tribes were the Gujars,

1. Census 1901, p. 172.

2. Census 1901, p. 338.

or cowherds, found mainly in the lower Himalayas, and the Gaddis, or shepherds, in the State of Chamba and Kangra district.

The trading castes in the villages occupied a lower position than the land owning classes, but in the towns they ranked higher. The most important were the Banias in the south-east, the Khattris in the centre and north-west, and the Aroras in the south-west. All these were Hindus or, rarely Sikhs. The principal Mohammedan trading classes were the Shaikhs and Khojas. Attached to these classes by a system of clientship, which was a curious combination of social dependence and spiritual authority, were the various priestly castes, the Brahmins ministering the Hindus, and the Saiyads to Mohammedans. Both these classes, however, often followed secular occupations, or combined them with religious functions, and similar functions were exercised by countless other religious tribes and orders¹.

The Principles of Caste Organization. Pride of ancestry, of family and personal position and occupation, and of religious pre-eminence, which was not peculiar to India, was the ground characteristic of caste²."

Amongst the Hindus, and to a limited extent amongst the castes converted from Hinduism to Islam, there were exogamous divisions, usually, but by no means invariably, termed as *gots* in Hindi. Generally speaking, every caste consisted of a number of these exogamous divisions, or "sections".

But further within the higher castes there were groups and sub-groups, which appeared to have originally consisted each of a number of sections. How these groups came to be formed was a matter for conjecture, but the status of each group doubtless depended on the comparative purity of its descent, its observance of social laws, such as the prohibition against widow re-marriage, and the degree of its proximity to the original home of the caste³.

But the status however acquired could be lost, diminished or improved. Thus the Brahmins, as noticed in the census of 1881, though classed under a common appellation, were not equal. Those who had never defiled their hands with the plough, but had restricted themselves to the legitimate pursuits of the caste, were held to be pure Brahmins, while those who had once descended to the occupation of husbandry retained

1. I. G. I. P., i, 48-49.

2. Wilson, John—(Indian caste)—1877, vol. i, 9.

3. Census 1901, p. 301.

indeed the name, but were no longer acknowledged by their brethren, nor held in the same reverence by the people at large. Again the Dharukras of Delhi were admittedly Brahmans who had within the last few generations taken to widow marriage; and the Chamarva Sadhs and the whole class of the so called Brahmans who ministered to the outcaste classes, were Brahmans only in name¹.

Of all the social sins the one principally guarded against by the liability to loss of status within the caste was, the violation of the law of hypergamy², which compelled the family to give a daughter in marriage in a group superior, or at least equal, to it in rank. In other words the social position of a family very often depended on the smallness of the circle within which it would marry its daughters. These principles were common to all the main types of caste organization in the Panjab, namely Khatri, Rajput, Jat and Bania³.

But whereas among the higher castes the status was determined more by the strictness with which such like social rules were observed and less by the occupation - a Rajput or Khatri needed only to avoid certain degrading trades and occupations - among lower classes there were endless social distinctions based on difference of occupation. Thus the Ramdasia Chamar would not intermarry with the ratia or Mona who skinned dead animals; and the Mirasi who did not sing with prostitutes would take a wife from those who did, but not give one in exchange. Among the lower castes indeed, besides the imitation of the higher castes and functions which appeared to be main factor in their organization, there were many other influences, such as religion and descent, real or supposed.

With some exceptions, the law of hypergamy was almost confined to Khatri, and Hill Rajputs and Brahmans, all of whom were also endogamous as regards the caste. The law of isogamy governed the marriage of these three castes, since there was none higher in which to wed. With its numerous modifications as according to the circumstances, the rule of exogamy was almost universal among Hindus and among some of the Hindu tribes converted to Mohammedanism⁴.

But this and the other caste restrictions in the Panjab were the concern of a man more in the time of peace and less in the time of trouble and hardship. Thus it was interesting to examine how far during the famine of 1899—1900 in the Panjab, the pressure of famine operated

1. Census 1881, p. 174.

2. This was one of the causes of female infanticide in the Panjab.

3. Census 1901, p. 302.

4. *ibid*, pp. 330—332.

to loosen the ties of family and caste. There were many examples of wives and children being sold without any care to whom they went—whether to a low-caste or a high. It was principally as regards customs regarding food that lapses were noticed; there were even cases of Bishnois, who would not in ordinary times accept food even from a Brahmin, being glad to accept food from any one who would give them to eat. And there appeared no doubt that, once the famine was over people would return to their old ways and customs again and that the brotherhood would not outcast any person who transgressed the rules of caste owing to the pressure of want¹.

Evils of the Caste System.—The evil effects of caste system upon the social and economic life in India, are too well-known to be discussed in detail. It is granted that the caste had some advantages. It bound together men of the same class ; it promoted cleanliness, and was a check in certain directions on moral conduct. It might have some more advantages too, but these were far more than counterbalanced by its pernicious effects. It had produced division and discard ; it made honest manual labour contemptible in the country ; it had brought on a physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles ; it checked internal and external commerce; it was a source of conservation in everything ; it suppressed the development of individuality and independence of character² ; it had helped in developing other injurious customs, such as early marriage, the charging of heavy matrimonial fees, etc. ; it had successfully restrained the growth and development of national worth, while allowing opportunity of mental and spiritual culture only to a limited few ; it had denied these opportunities to the majority of the lower classes, and consequently it had made the country fit for foreign slavery by previously enslaving the people to the most abject Brahmanical tyranny³. It was hardly astonishing therefore that one of the basic principles of all the progressive movements in the Panjab during the period was to fight against the caste-system.

(4)

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY MOVEMENTS IN THE PANJAB

After having discussed the main features in the general life and manners of the people, it would just be proper if we conclude the above account with a short reference to the various movements which were

1. The Panjab Famine of 1899—1900, vol. IV, 1901, p. 73.

2. Because it teaches that happiness in this and subsequent lives is dependent upon submission to one's lot.—See *Indian Antiquary*, LIX, 197.

3. Fr. Dec. O. M. Cap, 54—55.

started in the Panjab in order to bring about a reform and an improvement in them.

The various socio-reform and religio-reform movements which were started in the Panjab particularly during the later years of the 19th century, it may be said, were the expression of the rising national consciousness and spread of the liberal and democratic ideas of the West in this Province. Some of them had an increasing tendency to develop a national scope and programme of reconstruction in the social and religious spheres.

British themselves initiated reforms like the removal of Female Infanticide in the early years of their rule, but later on their reforming zeal slackened and it was the educated class in Panjab themselves who had to take up the responsibility. Majority of the movements in Panjab, started during this period, had religion their basic source of inspiration. But there were also a few, though not of much importance, which were purely of non-religious character. An account will be given here, firstly of the movements of the religious character under the heading of their respective religion and then of those which were purely of non-religious character.

Movements among the Hindus. It was consistent with the fact that Hinduism was a social rather than a religious system that, whereas Islam tended to develop the old sects and throw off new ones, Hinduism confined its activity mainly to the semi-social movements which were guided by societies like Arya Samaj, the Dev Dharama and others. These societies were almost entirely confined to the educated classes, and their objects were mainly but not exclusively, social¹.

Brahmo Samaj. The Samaj was introduced into the Panjab from Bengal, where it was founded by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, in 1828. It was established in Lahore in 1864, and eight years afterwards, in April 1872, the Brahmos built a mandir of their own in the Anarkali. Their prayers were somewhat after the style of the English church service and were addressed to Brahma (the one God), the chief purport being that all men including Hindus, Christian and Mohammedans might be converted to Him and become Brahmos.

The doctrines of the Brahmos were opposed to Vedas and to all scriptures, which could be interpreted to support polytheism; they rejected caste restrictions and sought to establish theistic faith which would take the place of all other beliefs.

1. For full details of all these Movements, see Author's 'Advanced History of Panjab, vol. II (Ranjit and post Ranjit); Census 1901. 115.

The Samaj did not meet with much success in Panjab having extended nowhere but to Lahore and Simla, but the Lahore register too in 1894, did not show more than 70 registered members. Dayanand's Arya Samaj overwhelmed and absorbed this movement¹. In the census of 1901, 128 Brahmos were entered in the tables. The followers were mostly foreigners².

Chet Ramis. The sect was founded by one Chet Ram about 1865. Chet Ram was born in 1835 at Sharakpur in the Lahore district, was a man of little education and could read the landa character only. He died in 1895 and after his demise his daughter was installed on the gadi.

Implicit confidence in Christ as the only God was the chief basis of his teachings. A copy of Bible was to be worn by each of his disciples round the neck. His disciples were also to carry a long rod with a cross at its head. The front portion of the horizontal part of the rod bore the following inscription :—

Help, O Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, God ! Read the Bible and the Gospels for salvation. (Chet Ramis)

His followers mainly belonged to the poorer classes. They were to be met with chiefly in the Ferozepore, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Montgomery districts. Forty persons were always to subsist upon alms and preach the teachings of Chet Ram. These were to remain celibate all their lives. The number of followers, as reported in 1901, was increasing day by day, but Hindu converts did not mix with Mohammedan converts and caste prejudices remained untouched³.

Arya Samaj. Like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj was a modern development of deistical unorthodoxy. The Samaj was founded by Pandit Dayanand Sarasvati, a Brahmin of Kathiawar, about 1875⁴. He never knew English and as a Brahmin, devoted himself to Sanskrit and besides the native Gujrati, he also knew Hindi⁵. Swami Dayananda was more than a religious propagandist. He was a social reformer also.

Arya Samaj was founded at Bombay in 1875, but was revised at Lahore in 1877, when its principles received their final shape and its constitution was finally settled. The ten principles to which every Arya was required to subscribe, constituted the only authoritative exposition

1. D. G. Lahore 1894, pp. 89—90 ; H. C. E. Zacharias, 36.

2. Census 1901, p. 172.

3. Census 1901, p. 117.

4. Oman, John Campbell. 130 etc. ; I. G. I P., i, p. 51.

5. Zacharias, H. C. E.—*Renascent India*, 1933. p. 35.

of its beliefs and its doctrines :—

(1) God is the primary cause of all true knowledge and of everything known by its means.

(2) God is All-truth, All-knowledge, All-beautitude, Incorporeal, Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unbegotten, Infinite,.....and the cause of the Universe. To Him alone worship is due.

(3) The Vedas are the books of true-knowledge, and it is the permanent duty of every Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and read them to others.

(4) An Arya should always be ready to accept truth and to renounce untruth.

(5) All actions must conform to virtue, *i.e.*, should be performed after a thorough consideration of right and wrong.

(6) The primary object of the Samaj is to benefit the whole world, viz., by improving the physical, spiritual, and social condition of mankind.

(7) All ought to be treated with love, Justice and with due regard to their merits.

(8) Ignorance must be dispelled and knowledge diffused.

(9) No one should be content with his own good alone, but every one should regard his or her prosperity as included in that of others.

(10) In matters which affect the general social well being of our race, no one should allow his or her individuality to interfere with the general good, but in strict personal affairs everyone may act with freedom¹.

Thus the social ideals of the Arya Samaj were the ideals of the ancient Rishis of India. They were based on :

(1) The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

(2) The equality of the sexes.

(3) Absolute justice and fair play between man and man and nation and nation. Equal opportunities to all according to their nature, karma, and merit.

(4) Love and charity towards all².

Championship of the rights of the depressed and untouchable classes of Hindus, opposition of the child marriage and the spread of the re-

1. Rai, Lajpat—Arya Samaj—1915, pp. 101—102 : Oman, John Campbell, 151.

2. *ibid*, pp. 36—137.

marriage of widows, were the greatest services rendered by the Samaj to the cause of social reform among Hindus¹. Its educational aim was to weld together the educated and uneducated classes by encouraging the study of the national language and vernaculars; to spread a knowledge of moral and apiritual truths by insisting on the study of classical Sanskrit; to ssist the formation of sound and energetic habits by a regulated mode of living; to encourage sound acquaintance with English literature; and to afford a stimulous to the material progress of the country by spreading a knowledge of physical and applied science². The first outcome of its policy of the development of an indiginous educational system was the establishment of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, which in the Administration Report (Panjab) of 1893 was described as "one of the most interesting educational enterprises in Northern India³." And the educational work was only a small part of the social service that the Arya Samaj was doing in Northern India⁴. Outside the Christian circle it was the first purely Indian Association to organise Orphanages and Widow Homes⁵. In times of pestilence it also organised medical relief, nursing the sick and helping in the disposal of the dead⁶.

The Arya Samaj, no doubt, was a reformed Hindu faith, but so anxious were the leaders of this movement to keep the reform within the pale of Hinduism, and in touch with the masses of the Hindu population that a very small number fully acted up to the reforms which they desired to carry out⁷.

In its issue dated 3rd October 1888, Imperial Paper (Lahore) accused Aryas as exciting their co-religionists against the Mohammedans with a view to avenge themselves for the wrongs which their forefathers suffered at the hands of Mohammedan rulers of India. Indeed the Aryas went so far in their unreasoning opposition as to attribute child-marriage and social evils to Mohammedan rule⁸. And hbar-i-AAkm (Lahore) wrote on 23rd February, 1889 that Sikhs of Lahore were greatly excercised by the conduct of the Aryas, who had injured their religious feelings by speaking disparagingly of their Gurus. The Sikhs were also very uneasy because some people had published an edition of the

1. *ibid*, 143—149; I. G. I. P., *i*, 51; Chirol, Valentile—Indian Unrest 1910, pp. 110—111; Census 1901, p. 116.

2. Rai, Lajpat—Arya Samaj—1915, pp. 180—183; Chirol, Valentine 111.

3. A. R. 1901—02, p. 184, see also Zacharia, H.C.E. 40.

4. Rai, Lajpat—Arya Samaj, pp. XIV, XVII.

5. *ibid*, 210.

6. *ibid*, 219.

7. Census 1901, p. 115.

8. N. P. R. Panjab 1888, 247.

'Granth Sahib' full of mistakes¹. Ravi (another paper from Lahore) wrote on 7th August, 1889 that one Radha Kishan, a member of the Arya Samaj, had compiled a treatise entitled *Granthi phobia*, in which he had injured the religious feelings of the Sikh community. The writer condemned the treatise and asked the Sikhs to take measures for getting its author punished².

"Back to the Vedas" was the call of the Swami; but though repudiated later by Lajpat Rai, V. Chirol in 1910 held the view that it was frequently dominated by the cry "Arya for the Aryans"³.

In 1892 the Arya Samaj split into two sections, ostensibly on a difference of opinion (1) as to the righteousness of meat diet, and (2) as to the lines on which the Dayanada Anglo-Vedic College, founded in memory of Sawami in 1886, was to be conducted⁴. The vegetarians were known by the name 'Mahatma', where as the flesh-eating section was known as 'cultured party.' It was the latter section which held the possession of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, while the former held the possession of the Samaj Building. The Mahatmas, as reported in 1901, were desirous of founding a college at Kangri near Hardwar but were not agreed as to the curriculum⁵.

The Arya Samaj recruited almost entirely from the educated class. There were on the Lahore register in 1894, about 600 members, among whom pleaders, Government servants and others, who had the greatest pretension to mental enlightenment, took a leading place. As regards caste the main bulk of the society were Khattris, Suds, Banias and others found in the clerical and commercial classes. Although Lahore was the centre of "Aryanism" in the Panjab, yet even there, it was reported in 1894, their religious zeal had cooled down a great deal since the death, in 1883, of their leader Sawami Dayanand⁶.

The number of the members of the Samaj in whole of the Province in 1891, was 16,275, of whom 9,510 were males, as against 9,105 males over 15 in 1901. Thus the movement in the Province was, numerically, not making much progress⁷.

Deo Dharma. It was founded on the Jubilee day, February 16th,

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1. Home, Secret, N. P. R. 1889, p. 93.
 2. Home, Secret, N. P. R. 1889, p. 324.
 3. Chirol, V. 110.
 4. Rai Lajpat-Arya Samaj, 107-108.
 5. Census 1901 p. 116; D. G. Lahore 1893-pp. 94, 94.
 6. D.G. Lahore, 1894, p. 93.
 7. Census 1901, p. 116.

1887, in Lahore, by a Brahmin, Pandit Satya Nand Agnihotri, who was formerly a master in the Government School at Lahore : while there, he came under the influence of the Brahmo School, and in 1879, became a missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Subsequently finding himself unable to continue with the Brahmos he started a religion of his own.¹

Deo Dharmis rejected all caste distinctions. They revered the religion of others, but themselves rejected any ideas of intercession, redemption, and pilgrimages. The society supported all the civilized movements of the time, female education, female medical aid, and the like. They were the fiercest opponents of the Aryas².

Lahore was the head-quarter of the society, but its numbers were few even there, as reported in 1894. In 1901 there were in all 12 missionaries and 190 (whether in or out of the Panjab) were the members and sympathisers in the Province³.

Sanatan Dharm Sabha. The most prominent of the formal associations of orthodox Hindus established for the conservation of the ancient Hindu religion by the Vedas, Puranas and other Shastras, was the Sanatan Dharm Sabha, which was started at Lahore in 1889. The objects of the Sabha as noticed in the memorandum of its constitution were :—

- (1) To preserve the old orthodox Hinduism in the country and to promote it.
- (2) To establish a college for imparting modern education together with religious instructions.
- (3) To establish a library in which all works treating of Sanatan Dharm may be kept⁴.

By 1901, the Sabha had a High School and an advanced Sanskrit Pathshala in Lahore. For a time the management was lax, but steps were being taken for its improvement.⁵ It was sending out preachers and collecting a library of Sanskrit works and manuscripts. It adopted the title Sanatan Dharm because it advocated a return to the old faith of Hinduism, but the term was very widely used and was frequently entered as their sect by Hindus of even the lower castes in the census schedules⁶.

1. D.G. Lahore 1894, p. 94 ; H.C.E. Zacharias, 36.

2. Census 1901, pp. 180-181.

3. *ibid*, 180.

4. D.G.Lahore 1894 p. 91.

5. A.R. 1901-02 p. 84.

6. Census 1901, p. 115.

There were some minor associations. Sat Sabha was established at Lahore in 1866 with a view to impart elementary truths of Western Knowledge through the language of the people—Panjabi. The religious and social advancement of the Hindus was another aim. During the last decade of the 19th century, however, its influence had been on the wane¹.

Hindu Sabha was established at Amritsar in 1880 with the special object of reviving the study of Sanskrit². It also aimed at social reform and the spread of education.³ By 1901, it had a prosperous school of its own⁴.

The Movements among the Sikhs. The condition of Sikhism closely resembled that of Hinduism, particularly during the later years of the century and the tendency among the Sikhs was to organize societies instead of new sects.

Gulabdasis. Gulabdasis or Saints were chiefly interesting in the near approach of their doctrines to those of the Epicureans. Pritam Das, an Udasi faqir started this new sect, his principal disciple being a Jat Sikh named Gulab Das. The latter was a trooper in the service of Maharaja Sher Singh, and joined the section the collapse of the Sikh monarchy. He compiled a sacred book called the Updes Bilas, and taught that man was of the same substance as the Deity, with whom he would eventually be absorbed. They dispensed with pilgrimages, the veneration of saints, and all religious ceremonies. Pleasure alone was their aim; and renouncing all higher objects they sought only for the gratification of the senses, for costly dress and tobacco, wine and women, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life. They were scrupulously neat in their attire and engaged in all worldly pursuits, some of them being men of considerable wealth. They were said to have an especial abhorrence of lying, and there was certainly little or no hypocrisy in their tenets. In appearance they varied. They saw no harm in incest, and had disgusted all respectable communities by their licence. The sect was only some 300 votaries in 1899 and was found chiefly in Lahore and Jullundur. All castes were admitted to the sect, but they did not eat with each other or intermarry⁵.

Nirankari. The sect was founded by a Khatri of Peshawar named Bhai Dial Das who settled in Rawalpindi. He died there about 1870.

1. A.R.1901-02,p.84.

2. A.R.1901-02, p. 84.

3. Census 1901, p. 115.

4. A.R. 1901-02, p. 84.

5. Bingley 1899, p. 68; Census 1881, p. 138.

His preaching was directed rather against religious ceremonies than against social and caste institutions. The Nirankaris worshipped God as a spirit only, avoided the adoration of idols, made no offerings to Brahmins or to the dead, abstained strictly from flesh and wine and were said to pay strict attention to truth in all things. Their sacred book was the *Adi Granth*. They not only allowed the widow marriage, but it often took place among them. At funerals they dispensed with all Hindu ceremonials, and instead of mourning looked upon death as an occasion for rejoicing. The sect was some 38,000 Sikhs, in 1899.¹

Kukas. This was a sect which numbered among its followers considerable number of the peasantry and rose to some political importance in the Kuka outbreak of 1872.

The sect was founded by Baluk Singh, an Udasi Arora in the year 1847 in the district of Rawalpindi. One of his most favourite disciples was Ram Singh, who came of a poor family, being the son of a carpenter named Jussa Singh. Ram Singh was initiated into the tenets of the new sect by Baluk Singh, and being urged by his master to preach them, commenced proselytizing in the Ludhiana district about the year 1858, and assumed the title of "Bhai", or head of the brotherhood in 1860. On the Death of his master in 1863, he was unanimously elected Guru and later² was proclaimed an incarnation of Guru Gobind Singh.³ Attention of the Government was drawn towards it in 1863, shortly after which date the sect began to be known as Kukas or "shouters"⁴.

The Kuka tenets, as known in 1863, showed that it was a movement of religious reform amongst the Sikhs. The sect abolished all distinctions of caste among Sikhs; advocated indiscriminate intermarriage of all classes; enjoined the marriage of widows; prohibited the taking of alms; enjoined abstention from liquor and drugs, but advocated much too free intercourse between the sexes. The disciples of Ram Singh were exhorted to be cleanly and truth-telling. The *Granth* was their only accepted inspired volume. Kukas were enjoined to wear a rosary, short drawers, a straight or untwisted puggree⁵, and to carry a stick. They had a private post of their own. They had no respect for tombs and

1. Bingley 1899, pp. 68-69; Census 1881, p. 138.

2. Original Home 1872. Judicial, Aug., 273-274, p. 2443.

3. Which was one of the causes of the unpopularity of Kukas among Sikhs—Ganda Singh (*Kukyan-di-Withya*), 1946, pp. 359-360.

4. Census 1881 p. 137.

5. Turban

temples and were also iconoclasts. On the whole, the conduct of Kukas was reported to be orderly in¹ 1863.

The Inspector General of Police, Panjab, reported in 1867, that their number was on the increase, but that there was no danger to be apprehended from the spread of the sect.² In 1868 it was reported that Kukaism was on the decline and that the belief in Ram Singh's supernatural powers had been shaken by experiments of the converts.³

For many years, the Kukas did nothing worse than defile or destroy shrines and idols, and murder butcher and others whom they suspected of slaughtering kine. But the Kuka outbreak at Tera, near Mukatsar, in February 1869, and some other available facts, according to the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala district, proved beyond doubt that Kukaism aimed at the restoration of Sikh rule, and by necessity the subversion of the British Power.⁴ In January 1872 the Kuka rising in Maler Kotla took place, which ended in 49 of the ring leaders being blown away from guns, under the order of Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Ambala, and Ram Singh being deported.⁵ This outbreak, according to Mr. Forsyth, was of utmost importance.⁶ His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala, wrote to Mr. Griffin, the Offg. Secy. to the Government of Panjab—who agreed with him that in the light of these proofs along with some other facts (their well organized postal system etc.) it was certain that Ram Singh's real motive and ambition was to reign and acquire dominions, upon a religious pretext. But the Kuka rising of Maler Kotla having been suppressed, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab definitely declared that the Government was too strong for the movement to succeed in its ambitions⁷.

The sect could not be said ever to have attained any general popularity. Its followers had throughout been drawn almost exclusively from the lowest classes. Their attacks upon sacred places had outraged the feelings of their neighbours, while the pure morality which they at first preached had been superseded by the most unbridled licence under the name of religious enthusiasm, men and women dancing to-gether

1. Original Home 1872, Judicial, Aug., 273-274, p. 2444-2449.

2. *ibid*, 2453-55.

3. *ibid*, 2464-69.

4. *ibid*, 2419.

5. See for details—Home, 1872, Judicial, July 208-211, pp. 2103 to 2109; Home 1872, Judicial, June, 11; Bingley, 69; Census 1881, 137.

6. Home 1873, Judicial, July, 212 to 224, pp 2111 to 2125.

7. Original, Home, 1872, judicial, June, 107—111

and indulging in orgies which had alienated the sympathies of the more decent portion of the community¹. In 1891, the Kukas numbered only 10,541 throughout the Province although by 1901 they had increased the figure to 13,788, in the British territories alone².

Guru Singh Sabha. Sri Guru Singh Sabha was reported in 1901 to be apparently the most active organisation in Sikhism. In Amritsar, Jhelum and Rawalpindi, the number of its members was increasing. Guru Singh Sabha of Lahore was established in 1879. Its main functions were to represent the interests of the Sikhs, to encourage the Panjabi language, and to maintain the original purity of Sikh doctrines and customs³.

The Khalsa Diwan Lahore. The society was established in 1888. Its main objects were, the diffusion of useful knowledge among the Sikhs, the improvement of Punjabi literature, the advancement of female education and the religious instruction of Sikh youths, etc. etc. The Khalsa college movement which had a very promising beginning had resulted in the establishment of a college. Its efficiency however, had suffered towards the close of the 19th century from want of harmony in the working of its Managing Committee.

The Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar. This society was established in 1890 with a view to conveying the simple truths of Sikhism in the Panjabi language. Social reform was another aim.⁴

The Sodhi-bans. The Khalsa Sodhi-bans was a new reforming movement among the Sikhs, started towards the close of the 19th century. It aimed at a return to the pure religion of Guru Nanak. The number of its followers in 1901 was 2,000 who were scattered all over the Province, but chiefly found in the north-west, especially in Sialkot, Shahpur and Rawalpindi⁵.

Movements Among the Mohammedans.

Ditte-Shahi. Ditte-shahi, though not of much importance, was the only new sect of some importance, which, developed among the Muslims during this period. Ditte-Shah, the founder of the sect, was an Arain of Suk Kalan, about three miles east of the town of Gujrat. At the

1. Census 1881, p. 138.

2. Census 1901, pp. 136-137. for further details on the subject and for personal character of Ram Singh, which was hardly assailable, see Author's Advanced History of Panjab vol.II; and Dr. Ganda singh (*Kukyan di Withya*), 1946, pp. 345-360.

3. A. R. 1901-02, p. 183; Census 1901, p. 125.

4. A. R. 1901-02, p. 184.

5. Census 1901, p. 125.

age of 40 he became a disciple of a faqir named Mian Mohammad Panch of Sheikhupur in Gujrat and having given up worldly pursuits began to lead a retired life. His creed was simple one : he exhorted people to do good actions and disregarded outward ceremonials. He wore red clothes and was said to have given up the religious duties enjoined by Islam. He died about 1881 and was succeeded by Mian Muhammad Yar. There was, however, no learned man among the Ditte-Shahis and the sect did not possess any books of literature. They discarded the ordinary religious duties observed by Muslims and considered Ditte Shah to be the real Rasul of God and felt so much reverence for him that sometimes they looked to be believing him to be not different from God¹.

Of the other literary societies among the Mohammedans, **Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore** was organized in 1866. Its chief aim was to give the Muslim youths a good-grounding in the principles of their religion along with secular instructions, and to support orphan and destitute children. To this end by 1901, it had established a flourishing school with college classes and an orphanage. The movement though wished to effectually combine religious with intellectual education, it did not indicate any narrow spirit of bigotry or reactionary feeling in regard to education². The association also published text books for Islamiya School.

Anjuman-i-Islamiya was founded in 1869 with the object of interpreting the measures of Government concerning the Muslim community, and to lay before the Government the views of the Mohammedans³. They fought for the recognition of the claims of the Mohammedan community to a proper share of the State patronage⁴. The society had its own paper which according to the view of the Government in 1881, was being conducted with some ability⁵.

Anjuman-i-Khadim-i-Uum-i-Islamiya, Lahore, was founded in 1888 for the encouragement of Arabic Learning. **Anjuman-i-Islamiya, Amritsar** was established in 1874. Its object was to promote the cause of religious and secular education among Mohammedans and to look after their social and political well-being. The former Society had a thriving "Maktab" of its own and the latter a High School in flourishing condition, by the end of the century.⁴

1. Census 1901, p, 143.

2. Thapar, K. B., convocation Addresses, p. 87.

3. A. R. 1901-02 p. 183.

4. Home 1889, Education, Feb., 47-52.

5. Home, 1882, Public, B, March, 11-12.

The General Literary Societies. Of the purely non-religious societies the Delhi Literary Society was the oldest institution of its kind and was founded in 1865. Its main objects were the advancement of learning and science, and the encouragement of social and intellectual intercourse. At one time this association wielded considerable influence, but by 1901, it was reduced merely to a recreation club.

The Indian Association Lahore, was founded in 1883 with the purpose of advancing the cause of political advancement and social reform. The Panjab Association of Lahore was a branch of the '**National Indian Association of London**', and was established in 1886. Its object was the encouragement of friendly intercourse between Englishmen and the Indians. It had its organ Panjab Magazine, a monthly Journal which, however, lost its former vitality by 1901.

Panjab Science Institute, was founded in 1886, mostly through the exertions of Professor J.C. Oman. Its main aim was to promote the cause of scientific learning and practical education in the province. But in the later years of the century, this society too was only in a state of stagnation.¹

1. A. R. 1901-02, pp. 183-84.

CHAPTER VI

Education

"It is believed, that both the necessity and encouragement for the Educational measure exist as much in the Panjab as in any Province in the Presidency. There are less prejudices and fewer elements of passive hinderance or active opposition here than elsewhere", said the First Administration Report of the Panjab. The Sikh fanaticism and political favourer were dying out. The Hindus were less superstitious and less priest-ridden. The Mohammedans of the plains, as contra-distinguished from those of the hills and the frontier, though formidable in numbers, were less bigoted, less bound by traditionary practice, than their co-religionists in any part of India. The upper classes displayed a candid intelligence and inquisitiveness in respect of Asiatic learning and European science. The agricultural classes, though uncouth, were less apathetic and less illiterate in their tastes than could have been expected; the village accountants displayed a skill not surpassed, and often not equalled in the rest of India. The working classes evinced a considerable aptitude in mechanical art. "On the whole, then," it was reported, "the Panjab is ripe for the introduction of an educational scheme."¹

(1)

EDUCATION BEFORE ANNEXATION

But this did not mean that before the annexation of Panjab by the British, the Panjab had no efficient educational system of its own. The respect of learning had always been the redeeming feature of "the East" and to this the Panjab had formed no exceptions. Troubled by invasion and civil war it ever preserved and added to educational endowments. The most unscrupulous chief, the avaricious money-lender, and even the freebooter, vied with the small land owner in making peace with his conscience byfounding schools and rewarding the learned.²

The schools in the Panjab, before annexation, were of three descriptions, namely those resorted to by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs respectively. At the

1. Selections from Records of the Government of India. No. VI

2. Leitner, p.i.

Hindu schools, writing and rudiments of arithmetic were generally taught in the Hindi character ; at the Muslim schools were read the Kuran in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadee in Persian (the Gulistan and Bostan) ; and at the Sikh schools was read the Granth in Gurmukhi, or the repository of the faith, taught by Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.¹

Persian schools were generally under Mohanmedan teachers, and were attached to mosques. The system of instruction pursued in a Persian school was practically efficient, though not such as could then be approved in Europe. In the Persian maktab, Hindus were found in large numbers, and in the Hindi school was often a Muslim whose ancestors might have been Hindu teachers.

In the Panjab, the commercial hand had little or nothing in common with the Nagari or Gurmukhi, which were used in manuscript books, and were equally suitable for printing.

Making allowances for the difference of language and subjects, the Sanskrit schools resembled very much the Arabic schools. Most of the elderly scholars in a Sanskrit schools studied for the priestly office, and several of them begged their bread from place to place².

The school house was in the Panjab, as elsewhere, primitive ; such as private dwelling, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the court-yard of a temple. The Muslim schools were nearly all connected with the village mosques. In such case, the same endowment would support both institutions. The remuneration of the teachers was variable and precarious. It frequently consisted of presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by scholars and their parents. But, occasionally the whole community subscribed for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which was considered to represent his means : not unfrequently also, cash payments were made, and sometimes regular salaries were allowed. Cash allowances were perhaps more usual in the Panjab than in other parts of India³. The average income of a teacher, at the time of annexation, was found hardly to exceed Rs. 2 a month in cash, but offerings in kind fees for performing religious ceremonies formed a material addition to their means of subsistence⁴.

1. A.R. 1849-50 to 1850-51, 143.

2. Education Commission, the Provincial Committee for the Panjab, 1882, pp. 34-35.

3. A.R. 1849-50 to 1850-51, pp. 143-144.

4. A.R. 1892-93, p. 319.

A remarkable fact in education before annexation was that female education was to be met within all parts of the Panjab. The girls and the teachers (also females) belonged to all of the three great religions, namely Hindu, Muslim and Sikh.⁷ Nor was education confined to the religious and mercantile classes, it was also open to the few agriculturists who cared to attend the schools. That all the classes in Panjab had a love for learning was proved beyond doubt when, seeing that the Government interested itself in the subject, numerous petitions were presented to the local authorities praying for the establishment of schools, immediately after the annexation¹.

(2)

DECLINE OF THE INDIGENOUS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

(A) Decline of the Indigenous Education. "The history of education," quoted the Panjab Education Report of 1872-73, "is the battle-ground and burial-ground of impracticable theories : and one who studies it is soon taught to abate his constructive self-confidence, and to endeavour humbly to learn the lessons and harmonize the results of experience²."

The Panjab became a British province in 1849, and in one of the earliest declarations of policy then made, the intention of the Government to take in hand the work of educating the masses was emphatically declared³. The first step of the authorities in the field in 1849 was thus to ascertain what the people had been doing themselves in the way of education⁴. Though the complete and fully reliable figures regarding the number of schools in existence and that of the scholars studying in them could not be collected, the figures for the three following Divisions of the Panjab as reported in the first Administration Report, may here be quoted, in order to have an approximate idea about the existing conditions⁵.

1. A.R. 1849-51, p. 144 ; I.G.I.P., i, 133.

2. R.E. 1872-73, p. 53.

3. Education Commission Report of the Provincial Committee for Panjab. 1882.

4. A.R. 1892-93, p. 319 ; see also Foreign, Political 1851, 31 Jan., 26, orders are passed for the collection of the informations.

5. A.R. 1849-51, p. 142.

Division	One school to every inhabitant	One scholar to every inhabitant
Lahore	1,783.98	214.85
Jhelum	1,441.90	193.10
Multan	1,666.66	210.88

The best course for the spread of education in the Panjab would have been to improve the indigenous schools without absorbing them if they were not up to the expected standard and to create new schools in order to add to their number. And in theory, this plan which had already been tried in the North West Provinces but failed, was actually contemplated in the Panjab,¹ when the Education Despatch of 1854 recommended the encouragement and improvement of the indigenous schools². But unfortunately the abandonment of the plan for improvement of indigenous schools by grants-in-aid³ in Panjab was approved in the Court of Directors Education letter No. 23, dated 27th May 1856⁴, and the experiment which was only performed for two years was now abandoned as a complete failure. The Government system, however, though not direct was exercising an indirect influence over the indigenous schools and it was reported in 1862 that the teachers and pupils of one of the indigenous schools had solicited Government officers to assist them in studying arithmetic and geography. Some of the students of the normal schools were accordingly deputed for the purpose.⁵ Again from 1865 to 1869, the Government attempted to supplement the village school system by aiding any indigenous school which might accept aid on easy conditions, and the experiment excited a good deal of interest, although it may have been adopted on too small scale and without any special establishment. But the results were not encouraging. The indigenous teachers would not work for the Government, unless they were

1. See Education Commission Report by the Provincial Committee, 1884, p. 593.

2. Parliamentary Papers. 1854; Vol. 47; p. 155; Paper 393.

3. This scheme of improvement was tried but abandoned after two years as according to the authorities, the scheme could not succeed. But, according to the critics of the Government policy two years were too small a period for the purpose—see Leitner, 22.

4. Education Commission. The Provincial Committee for the Panjab 1882, pp. 35-36.

5. A.R. 1861-62, p. 46.

promised the full advantages (as regards wages) of belonging to the establishment¹.

The Education Commission of 1882, once again, recommended the recognition and encouragement of indigenous schools so far as they could be made to serve any purpose of secular education². And in accordance with its recommendations, the Panjab Government laid down rules for the award of grants to indigenous schools according to various simple standards ; and all public officers were required to bring to notice any school that might appear suitable for a grant and the managers of which might desire it³. But the tendency of the indigenous school system to decline could not be arrested.

In 1883 the number of indigenous schools and that of boys studying in them was reported to be 13,109 and 135,384, respectively⁴. From 1885 efforts were directed to bring indigenous schools under the influence of the Department, and of the 1,836 such schools returned in 1893, with 104,404 scholars, 651 schools with 24,517 scholars were examined for grants⁵. In 1896 the number of indigenous schools was 5,368 with 82,184 pupils but in 1901, the number of the schools had decreased to 4,356 with 5,801 fewer pupils⁶. In 1902 it was reported that indigenous schools had decreased by 2,986 since 1893. With the exception of the year 1894 and 1899, when Private Institutions showed an increase of 47 and 24 respectively, each year since 1893 had closed with a fall in the number of such schools, which according to the authorities showed that the rudimentary instructions given in them was no longer considered adequate⁷.

(B) THE ENGLISH EDUCATION

As the indigenous system of schools declined in the Panjab, new schools were constructed according to the English plan. Before 1854, however, although the promise of taking in hand the work of educating the masses was not forgotten, its execution was delayed by various causes and by that year only about a dozen schools had been established⁸.

1. Education Commission, Provincial Committee for the Panjab, 1882, pp. 35-36.
2. See *ibid* Summary and Recommendations, p. 80 etc.
3. A.R. 1892-93, p. 323.
4. R.E., 1882-83.
5. A.R., 1892-93, p. 325.
6. A.R. 1900-1901.
7. A.R. 1901-1902, p. 176.
8. Education Commission—Provincial Committee for Panjab, 1882, p. 1.

In 1854 the Education Department was organized which was administered at first by a Director, 2 Inspectors of Schools, 10 Deputy Inspectors, and 60 Sub-Deputy Inspectors. The schools directly supported by Government consisted of 24 Zilah schools, 100 Tahsil schools and 4 Normal schools. A cess of 1 percent on the land revenue which, according to Dr. Leitner¹, was originally meant only to be devoted to the indigenous schools, was spent in maintaining schools entirely under the control of the Department, each of which might serve a cluster of villages.²

The Persian script, already in use throughout the Western Panjab and in two-thirds of the indigenous schools of the eastern districts, was unhasitatingly adopted as the standard, but the choice of language offered greater difficulties. Punjabi, the Panjab Administration Report of 1851-52 had reported "is now rapidly falling into desuetude." Punjabi as a spoken language was also losing its currency and degenerating into a provincial (and rustic) dialect, where as Urdu was becoming familiar to the upper and middle classes.³ So it was prescribed that Persian Urdu with the Persian script was to be taught in schools under Government patronage, as Urdu was "becoming more than a lingua franca". Gurmukhi and Hindi schools were, however, to be encouraged wherever the people desired them.⁴

An important change was made in the system of Administration in 1860. When the Education Department was first formed under the direction of Mr. Arnold, it was based on the principle of having separate department, to be worked by Educational officers. The Inspectors and

1. See Leitner, 22.

2. A.R. 1892-93, pp. 319-320.

3. A.R. 1851-52, p. 184.

4. A.R. 1854-55 & 1855-56, p. 45.

5. The principle over which the choice of Urdu was based, was according to Dr. Leitner, connected more with worldly ambitions than mental and moral culture. Urdu and, subsequently, English were welcomed as an avenue and claim to employment under Government by the more needy in the community and by those who wished to ingratiate themselves with the authorities. (Leitner, ii.) The feeling of the lovers of Panjabi were naturally injured with this choice and even as late as 1891 we find Civil and Military Gazette recommending the adoption of Panjabi as the medium of education in the Province. But the support for Urdu were stronger and Kaiser-ul-Akhbar (Karnal) in its issue dated March 1891, condemned these recommendations as mischievous. —The Urdu language had been considerably enriched by means of translation of scientific works, according to the writer, and those who were taught through the medium of that language could learn Western sciences without knowing English. There were no scientific works in Panjabi and the writer then went on to show that the Urdu was the lingua franca of India. (Home, secret, N. P. R., Panjab, 1891, p. 99).

Sub-Inspectors were to act only as the local representatives of the Director.

The dissociation of the Civil and Educational departments, was not found to be practically successful. The supervising native agency then available proved to be inferior and often untrustworthy. The fact of Education being a department by itself, in which the Civil Officers had no direct concern, caused them too often to manifest a want of interest in this important subject ; and the result was apathy and indifference on the part of the people.

In 1860 the chief modifications introduced were that the Vernacular schools, which formed the great majority, were transferred to the charge of Deputy Commissioners. The Indian Deputy Inspectors were dismissed, or employed in reduced salaries as School Muharrirs, and after certain other attempts, each district was provided with a District Inspector or Chief School Muharrir, who was subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner. The Department became subordinate directly to the Government, without interference of any other officer¹.

In 1862 an enthusiastic movement was initiated in favour of the female education². In 1864 Government Colleges were established at Lahore and Delhi. At the latter place there had been one before the Mutiny ; which had since then been in abeyance. In 1865 the Anjuman-i-Panjab was founded and in connection with it a scheme was originated for establishing an Oriental University³. Between 1868 and 1870 the policy of reducing the number of schools, and of expending the saving affected in greatly improving the pay and position of school teachers, led to the closure of some 300 schools, 10,000 scholars being struck off the rolls. The status of the village school masters was, however, considerably improved. In 1859 their pay had been fixed in grades of Rs. 5, 7, and 10 per mensum, now it was determined that no teacher, excepting assistants, should draw less than Rs. 10 per mensum⁴.

Before the Decentralization in 1871, the main difficulties of the Department had been the insufficient financial sources. The main financial sources were the Imperial Revenues and the Local Revenues which (the latter) consisted of Educational cess, Endowments, Subscriptions and Donations, Fees and Private contributions⁵. But the Educa-

1. R.E., 1863-64, p. 69.

2. A. R., 1862-63, p. 51.

3. A. R., 1892-93, p. 321.

4. *ibid*, 321 ; A. R. 1868-69 (General Summary).

5. A. R. 1867-68. p. 90.

tional cess was not spent entirely for the purpose it was raised, being burdened with charges not appropriately belonging to it and in 1865, the Director actually remonstrated to the Government in reference to the insufficient sources¹.

The effect of the financial decentralization along with the Panjab Local Rates Act of 1871,² in the course of the next few years was to double the amount hitherto received from the Educational cess, which now became merged in the District Fund, and thus to increase largely the means for the education of the agricultural classes. Meanwhile increased assignments were made by Municipalities, and in 1873-74 the numbers on the rolls of village schools exceeded by 20,000, the lowest figure reached in 1869-70 after the reduction described above³.

The expenditure upon education continued to increase and learning from the Education Report of the year before, that the annual expense borne by the State in teaching one boy was Rs. 813-10-7, the *Rahbar-i-Hind* remarked in its issue dated 2nd September 1876 that, inspite of the enormous expenditure incurred on the department, the progress of education did not appear to be satisfactory, the blame for which the paper put on the idleness of the educational officers. The editor suggested the abolition of the posts of the inspectors of schools who drew large salaries, performance of an annual tour by the Director throughout the province visiting all schools and colleges and enhancement of the efficiency of the Indian inspecting staff by increase of their salary⁴.

Important measures adopted immediately subsequent to the decentralization in 1871, may here be referred to briefly. The Middle School Examination to test the proficiency of the scholars midway between the Primary and Entrance Standards, had been instituted in 1869; and in 1872-73 the first examinations by the Upper and Lower Primary Standards were held by the Inspectors. The classification of schools according to stages of instructions was gradually introduced during the next few years. In 1877 the Government College at Delhi was abolished, with the view to having a fully equipped college for the province at Lahore, In 1875 the Mayo School of Industrial Art was established at Lahore, and in 1881 was established the Central Training college for the supply of trained teachers for English Schools and for Secondary Vernacular Schools⁵.

1. R. E. 1864-65.

2. See chapter on Financial Developments.

3. A. R. 1892-93, p. 322.

4. Home, secret N. P. R., 1876, pp. 472-73.

5. A. R. 1892-93, p. 322.

The policy of the Government in regard to education till 1881 had been to bring primary education within the reach of all, but in regard to higher education, to aim at affording the means of attaining proficiency to those only who were ready to bear a fair share of its cost. It had further been the aim of the Government to throw the cost of primary education as far as possible on the local resources; and the amount which was spent on this account from municipal and district fund revenue was annually increasing¹. And when in 1882, the Education Commission recommended along with the creation of facilities for the transfer of Government institution to local management, the increased efforts in favour of the extension of Primary Education², the Press in the Panjab generally expressed their views against the step. The prevailing opinion among the majority of this papers was, that the real object of the Government was to check the progress of advanced education, and this was, in more or less measured terms, generally condemned by them all, foremost among which seemed to be Sajjan Kirti Sudhakar, Kavi Vachan Suda, Bharat Bandu and Punjabi Akhbar. According to Sahas and Rahbar-i-Hind, the encouragement of elementary education was laudable enough, provided always taxation was not increased, and higher education was not prejudiced. According to Bharat Bandhu, Kavi Vachan Sudha, Oudh Akhbar and Aligarh Gazette, the Government was afraid that the higher education fostered political discontentment. But this, they pleaded was wrong. The well-educated men were rather the best friends of the Government, they asserted³.

In spite of all the criticism from the Press, the recommendations of the Education Commission, after 1882, not only formed the basis of a new departure in matter of public instructions but continued to supply lines for guidance in all parts of the educational movement. In 1883-84 a sum of Rs. 8,000 from Provincial Revenues was assigned for the establishment of new Primary Schools, on condition that an equivalent amount should be devoted to the same purpose from Local Funds. In 1886-87 a further allotment of over a lakh of rupees from Provincial Revenues was provided for the extension and improvement of Primary education; and a number of Zamindari Schools, intended to meet the special simple requirements of the agricultural class, were opened in nearly every district⁴. In the same year the all schools for general education, with the

1. A. R. 1880-81, p. 45.

2. See Education Commission, The Provincial Committee for the Panjab, 1882, 80 etc.

3. Original. Home, 1883, Public, B, Feb. 187, 188.

4. See A. R. 1888-1889, p. 167.

exception of the Model or Practising Schools attached to Training Institutions, were transferred to the management of Municipal Committees, and rules were laid down with a view to affording every encouragement to their conversion into Aided schools, when adequate guarantees of efficiency and permanency were available. Rules were also framed making the further extension of Secondary Education ordinarily dependant on contributions from private sources. To give greater variety to the studies in Secondary Schools, a Clerical and Commercial Course was adopted by the Panjab University as alternative to the ordinary Entrance Course, and leading to office and business occupation rather than to continued University studies, and also a Special Science Course, fitting either for further scientific study or for some technical line of life. New rules for the levy of fee were introduced in 1886, aided institutions being required to fix their rates at not less than three-fourths of those laid down for Government and Board Schools¹. The grant-in-aid rules were entirely recast in 1886, embodying the system of payment-by-results. In 1886 the circles of inspection were made to correspond with the Revenue divisions of the province², considerable improvement was effected in the position and prospects of District Inspectors; and in these and other ways the efficiency of the inspecting staff was largely augmented. In 1889 an Inspectress of Schools was appointed. Education Conferences were held annually from 1886, to discuss all matters affecting educational work in the Province.

Considerable progress was made in many other directions. By 1893, each Inspectional Circle had one Training Institution, the Model Schools attached to the Training Institutions had been placed on an improved footing. Normal classes for the training of Female teachers had been instituted in several Girls Schools³. Further progress was made in the technical and industrial education in the three years following 1886. Prior to this medical and veterinary colleges, the Law School, the Engineering class of the University, and the Mayo School of Industrial Art were the only technical institutions in the province, the few so-called industrial schools being mere workshops in which inferior articles were made at a high cost. Now the functions of the Mayo School were extended and in 1889, the Railway Technical School at Lahore was opened; courses of instruction, both in general and technical subject, had been prescribed

1. Home, secret, N. P. R., Panjab etc., 1884, pp-462-4; A. R. 1885-6, p. 130.

2. A. R. 1885-86, p. 130.

3. A.R. 1889-90, p. 211.

for industrial schools and rules were framed for the award of grants to aided industrial schools.¹

Sketch of the Organisation of Schools for General Education.

The Schools for general education, whether departmental or aided, after the introduction of the classification according to stages of introduction,² were known as Vernacular or English, and as Primary or Secondary. Primary Schools afforded a course of instructions extending over five years³, and terminating with an examination called the Upper Primary Examination. There were five classes, of which the first three formed the lower Primary School and the fourth and fifth the Upper Primary School. In the Lower Primary section of both English and Vernacular Schools there was a uniform course of study. In the Upper Primary section again, the subjects of study were the same in both kinds of schools with the exception that in place of English in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools the Vernacular Schools had mensuration.

A secondary School was either Middle School or High School. A Middle School contained a Primary and Middle Department, the Primary Department consisting of an extra course, extending over three classes, and terminating with the Middle School Examination. A High School embraced a Primary, Middle and High Department, the first two corresponding to a Middle School, and the last having a course of two years and terminating with the Entrance Examination. The above system of classification was obligatory in Government and Board Schools and had been adopted almost without exception, in aided schools. Here again, in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools English was compulsory, but the place of which was taken by Euclid and Algebra for Vernacular scholars. On passing the entrance examination in English, students were admitted to the Arts Colleges, and on passing in the Vernacular to the Oriental College Lahore. The Middle School Examination was first conducted by the Educational Department; but in 1884 it was made over to the Panjab University.⁴

University of the Panjab. It was in the year 1882 that the Panjab University was established at Lahore. Prior to that year colleges and schools had been affiliated to the Calcutta University. A brief account may here be given of this development.

It was Dr. Leitner who, soon after joining the Lahore Government

1. A. R. 1893-94, pp. 323-325; I. G. I. P., i, 141.

2. See above.

3. Lower Primary Examination was abolished in 1898.

4. A. R. 1901-1902, p. 174.

College as its Principal in 1864, (Just founded), founded an association, the 'Anjuman-i-Panjab', under which the 'Oriental Movement' was started for the foundation of National University in the Panjab¹. The proposal to establish a University at Lahore was recommended by the Panjab Government in 1868. The Government of India did not sanction the scheme and after some correspondence with them a compromise was accepted by the Government of Panjab as a step towards the fulfilment of their design. The new institution, which was styled "The Panjab University College" was established in 1870 with a governing body called the "Senate" and the following principles :—

(1) to promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible, through the medium of the indigenous languages of the Panjab, and improve and extend the indigenous literature generally ;

(2) to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature ;

(3) to associate the learned and influential classes with Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.

To carry out this policy the University College endowed lecturerships, literary fellowships, and scholarships and held public examinations in various subjects of study which it was desired to encourage.² Oriental School and College was established at Lahore with the expectation that it would be largely attended by Maulvis and Pandits, men already versed in Arabic or Sanskrit, who would return, after receiving a scientific training, to their hereditary occupation.³

Examinations in Arts were held by the Panjab University College, which corresponded with those of the Calcutta University.⁴ In 1879, it was found that the examinations of the Panjab University College were inferior in difficulty to those of the Calcutta University. Accordingly an influential Committee was appointed as a result of the acceptance of the recommendations of which, the standard of the examinations of the College was raised⁵. But in most instances the students were compelled to present themselves for both, the examination of the Panjab University College and that of the Calcutta University, the result being a confusion

1. Parliamentary Report-1874, C. 1072-II, Part III also quoted by Leitner, v-vii.

2. A.R. 1892-93, p. 326; I.G.I P., i, 135-136.

3. R. E., 1878-79 (see Summary).

4. A. R. 1873-74, p. 110.

5. A. R. 1878-79 (see summary)

and misdirection of energy which was most prejudicial to the true interest of high education¹.

Nor had the desire of the Panjab people for a University of their own ever abated. The question was revived in 1878 in connection with a movement made at the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on 1st January 1877, and the Secretary of State being satisfied that the examinations of the Panjab University College were of such a nature as to justify that body being entrusted with the power to grant degrees, accorded his permission to the introduction of an Act for the incorporation of a University in 1880. An Act for this purpose was accordingly passed in 1882 as Act XVII of that year, and on 14th October the Panjab University was incorporated and received the power of conferring degrees for Oriental Learning and Arts².

In the first Convocation Address on 18th November 1882 at noon, remarked Lord Ripon : "the foundation of this University, which makes oriental studies its chief and foremost aim, is likely to induce not only to the benefit of the people of India—aye, and as we have seen in the case of some of the men who have just come before us, to that of the people of other parts of Asia also—but, at the same time, to the advantage of Europeans in this country and in the West." (Cheers).

Lord Ripon hailed with the greatest satisfaction, the circumstance that this University had been established by the contributions of the Indian Princes and gentlemen of the Province, and that the management of the institution would rest so largely in their hands. He saw in the system upon which the University was founded an earnest and determined effort to associate with the Government, in their educational projects, the leaders of opinion in that great province. It would, he added, greatly further and assist the great political object of aiding and advancing the political training of the people in the conduct of their own local affairs, because by such an institution being controlled by the local men, a useful and political lesson of self-help, self-training in the management of their own affairs and reliance would be afforded³.

In addition to its ordinary duty as the chief public Examining Body of the Province, the aims of the University were embodied in its threefold function ; the first of which was to watch over the Vernacular literature in the Panjab, both translated and original ; the second was to encourage,

1. A. R. 1877-78 (summary).

2. A. R. 1892-93, p. 326; I. G. I. P., i, 135-136.

3. Thapar, K. B.—Convocation Addresses, 1995, pp. 4-9.

not only English education, but education of a national character and Oriental tone—of course through the medium of the indigenous languages; and the third was to act as a sort of public council to give advice to Government on all educational matters when consulted¹.

The University was empowered to grant degrees in Medicine in 1866, and degree in Law and Science in 1891².

Part played by the Intellectual Class of the Panjab. That the intellectual classes of the Panjab were not devoid of the feeling of love for the development of the education of their unprivileged brothers in this respect, is too clear from the criticism of the Governmental policy that the press continued to offer right from the beginning of the spread of the English Education in the country³. Some of the papers in Panjab, indeed, had their own sworn principles as to how the education in Panjab should be carried on and this may be clear from the violent criticism that they sometimes offered to the Governmental policy. The *Akhbar-i-Am* thus, referring to the Lieutenant-Governor's opening speech in praise of the University remarked in 1882, that he must have been deceived by some "malicious foreigner", or otherwise he could hardly have ventured to tell "deliberate lies in open Darbar"⁴. Yet in the actual field of action, as to take education in their own hands, the people were slow to come.

Policy of the Government in education was gradually to withdraw in whole or in parts from the task of direct instruction⁵, and in July 1854 the Court of Directors authorised the adoption in India of a system of Grant-in-aid as the best and most effective mode of calling out private efforts in aid of education⁶. Yet it was noticed in 1876, that the grant-in-aid system, so far as education of the people was concerned, had up to that time in the Panjab, been used almost exclusively by the Missionaries⁷.

It was only in the eighties of the 19th century that the people began to take more and more interest in education, in this respect. In the convocation address of the Panjab University on 18th November, 1882, Lord Ripon hailed with the greatest satisfaction that the University had

1. *ibid*, 21-22; A. R. 1880-81.

2. A. R. 1892-93, p. 326; I. G. I. P., i, 136.

3. See above.

4. Original, Home, 1883, Public, B, Feb., 187-188.

5. see Objects of Grant-in-aid, Home (Education), 1864, August, 7-9.

6. Home (Education), 1864, 3 August, 7-9.

7. A. R. 1892-93, p. 322.

been established by the contributions of the Indians themselves¹. Sir James Broadwood Lyall, Chancellor of the Panjab University expressed his pleasure on 29th November 1890 that in the last five years there had arisen in Panjab for the development of education, independent movements like Arya Samaj and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam². And he noticed that quite recently, a number of Sikh gentlemen had combined to secure the establishment of a Sikh Central School and College. He was satisfied that all these movements wished effectually to combine religious with intellectual education, but they did not indicate any narrow spirit of bigotry or reactionary feeling in regard to education³. In 1898 again, it was reported that private enterprise was taking more interest and a special mention was made of Arya Samaj in this connection⁴. In 1899⁵ and again in 1902⁶, it was reported that the development of private enterprise in education was a remarkable feature of the last few years.

The Net Achievements. In 1861-62 in the Panjab, there were in all 1,982 schools either maintained or aided by the Government, having 52,480 scholars⁷. In 1900 the total number of the Public Educational Institutions was reported to be 3,123 and that of the scholars in them 189,405⁸. The number of colleges in 1900 was 14 and that of the schools for special instructions 21⁹. The census returns of 1901 showed that in the total population only 1 in every 26 was literate, *i.e.*, able to read or write. The statistics could not be compared with those of the census of 1891, when a distinction was drawn between literates and learners. Among Hindus and Sikhs the proportion of literates was 1 in 15; among Mohammedans it was 1 in 69. Of the total literates 1 in 10 knew English. Since 1891 the proportion of literates in English among the male population had more than doubled¹⁰.

(3)

UNEQUAL BENEFICIARIES

The first impression of the people when they heard of the Government

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1. see above.
 2. see also Socio-Religious and Literary Movements, Chapter V.
 3. K. B. Thapar, 86-87; see also A. R., 1892-93 (Summary).
 4. R. E. 1897-1898.
 5. R. E. 1898-1899.
 6. R. E. 1901-1902.
 7. A. R., 1861-62, p. 42.
 8. A. R. 1899-1900 (Summary).
 9. *ibid*, 161.
 10. A. R. 1901-1902 (Summary).

Educational scheme, was that their children were to be taught in exactly the same way as formerly by a Mian or Pandit, but that the teachers were in future to be paid by the Government instead of by the parents; and so long as this notion prevailed, the Government Education was, actually, extremely popular. Both teachers and scholars, however, particularly objected to the study of Urdu. To educate a boy teaching him his own language seemed to them to be almost a contradiction of terms. It was of course necessary to conciliate the people, and the plan adopted was to give the teachers two lists of books—one of Urdu books which must be read and another of Persian books which might be read¹. With a better appreciation of what constituted true education, it was reported in 1902, the prejudice in favour of purely linguistic study was weakening, and the importance of practical instructions in all subjects through the indigenous languages was being recognised more widely.²

(A) PRIVILEGED AND THE PEASANTRY

But the net achievements of 52 years of the British rule, in the field of education, were hardly encouraging. The Census Report of 1901 reported that only 1 in every 26 was literate, and the one fact that strikes the observer still more is that even this much education among the people was not uniformly distributed amongst all the classes. It was only the privileged class of traders and the professionals among the people, who had availed the opportunity the best and that too not as much for the actual love of learning as from the habit of mind which regarded education merely as a stepping stone to a Government appointment or a clerical career. Although among the more thrifty agriculturists, especially the Jats, whose connection with the army brought them into closer touch with the larger world, and whose thrifty accumulations were often employed in money-lending transactions, too, there was a commencing appreciation of the material advantages which education was so often found to confer, the ordinary agriculturist continued to consider that education 'spoils a plough man.' Grumbling too was sometimes heard, because the local rates which were paid by the land-owning classes were so largely devoted to the education of the banias who contributed so little to taxation³.

The late Guru Sadhu Singh who had paramount influence in Kartarpur, it was reported in 1862, had objected to a Government school being

1. A. R. 1892-93, p. 320; Selection from Education Records, Part II, 293.

2. A. R., 1901-1902.

3. A. R. 1901-1902, XXVII; Leitner, iii to iv; also see R. E., 1895-96; A. R., 1861-62, p. 45.

established there, but after his death, people themselves petitioned for one. And this encouraged the authorities that, after all, the prejudice among the people, against the English system of education was beginning to die¹. Even the chiefs of the Southern Derajat, the Lieutenant-Governor noticed in 1866, were beginning to evince an active interest in the extension of education². In Peshawar district too, progress was being made, though but slowly, towards removing the suspicions of the people, and their disinclination to resort to the Government schools³. But the bulk of the peasantry and working classes, as reported in 1870, were slow to perceive any advantage in the education of their sons⁴, and this attitude of theirs toward education, continued till 1901⁵.

(B) THE MOHAMMEDANS

Another point to be noted, was the comparatively slow progress of the Mohammedans in education. The typical high Mohammedan education consisted in reading the Quran and its appended traditions in the original Arabic, learning their meaning to a certain limited extent, though without as a rule any study of language itself, and acquiring familiarity in greater or less degree with Aristotelian system of logic which was curiously inter-woven with the religion itself. The primary education of the Muslims was confined to learning parts of the Quran by rote, and perhaps being able to read, though never to understand it. In exchange for this the Mohammedans were not much willing to accept the purely secular education the English claimed to offer; which however was to the Hindu or a Sikh very much what he would receive in his own schools, but put in a different form. The result was that especially on the frontier where Mohammedan bigotry was the strongest, the greater number of Muslim children were found in 1881 attending schools held at the mosques by Mullas, themselves often grossly ignorant, where they learnt to read the Quran and to repeat parts of it by rote but not to understand it, and thus at once began and finished their education⁶.

When in 1871 attention was first directed to the backwardness of education among the Mohammedans in India, inquiry showed that in the Panjab the Muslim community had availed itself fully in proportion to its number as the Hindus. It was, however found that Mohammedans

1. A. R. 1861-62, p. 45.

2. R. E. 1861, i.

3. Home (education), 1866, March, i, A.

4. A. R. 1869-70, pp. 121-122.

5. see above.

6. Census 1901, p. 406.

seldom prosecuted their studies beyond the middle school, and that few attended colleges¹.

The disproportionate attention given by the Mohammedans to religious studies, their preference, as more practical, for the course of study in indigenous schools and their impoverishment which was said to have affected most Mohammedan families of note, were the causes forwarded by the authorities of the comparatively less attention paid by them towards the Government educational institutions². To these another cause could be added that they were mostly agriculturists³. And still another cause was the frank avowal of a Muslim authority (Sayyid Mahmud) that a Mohammedan child would probably admit that the most powerful factors (i. e. accounting for the backwardness of Muslims in education) were to be found in pride of race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears⁴, and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam⁵.

Progress, however, was made. In 1883-84 the Mohammedan college students were thrice as numerous as in 1870-71. Nevertheless, their number in the secondary schools and colleges remained proportionately far below that of the Hindus, and the necessity of special measures was realised⁶.

In 1887 Jubilee scholarships, tenable in high schools and colleges, were founded by Government and local bodies were authorised to establish them for Middle schools. In addition, half the free or semi-free studentships were reserved for Mohammedan boys. The community itself also began to realize the necessity of self-help, and various societies were started which organized Anglo-Vernacular Mohammedan schools for higher Mohammedan education⁷. In 1895, it was reported that there were more Muslim children at schools than Hindu, but more than two-thirds of them attended private institutions of doubtful efficiency from an educational point of view. In public institutions the

1. I. G. I. P., i, 142.

2. Syed Mahmood, 1895, p. 165.

3. I. G. I. P., i, 142.

4. The Hindu attitude to the Mission Schools (and nobody can deny that generally speaking in the middle of the nineteenth century the Missions provided the best education in India) was less suspicious than that of the Muslims for "the personality of Christ gave the Hindu much that enriched and sweetened his life without destroying its foundations. The Mohammedan found in this creed a direct challenge to the teaching that underlay his life." (A. Mayhew, *The Education of India*, 1926, p. 47).

5. Syed Mahmood, 1895, p. 148.

6. I. G. I. P., 142-143.

7. *ibid*, 143; A. R. 1887-88, p. 163; also see chapter.

proportion of Hindus to Muslims was roughly 10 to 7¹. Similar was the condition of education among Mohammedans as noticed in 1901².

(C) EDUCATION OF THE OUTCASTS

Very little was also accomplished for the education of the low-caste children. The better classes took no interest in the subject³, and the people of low-caste had, as a rule, no desire for education. The most systematic efforts had been made in Delhi and the neighbourhood, where schools for low-caste children were maintained by the Baptist and S. P. G. Missions. The Government gave some facilities for the extension of such schools. Schools were maintained by the District Committee of Gurgaon for the children of Minas, a tribe of hereditary thieves (as it was known) and special rewards in cash were paid from provincial revenues to boys and teachers for every pass by the primary standard. Special schools were maintained also for the benefit of the Sansis in Sialkot district⁴. But the results, on the whole, were not very encouraging.

(D) EDUCATION OF THE WOMEN IN THE PANJAB

The first Administration Report of the Panjab after its annexation by the British in 1849, remarked with great appreciation that female education was to be found in all parts of the Panjab⁵. The Panjab woman had, in fact, not only been always more or less educated herself but she had also been an educator of others. In Delhi, for instance, before the annexation of Panjab, six public schools for girls were kept by the Panjabi women, who had emigrated to the South for this purpose. In other places, similarly, Panjabi women were to be found as teachers. Among Mohammedans, very many widows considered it a sacred duty to teach girls to read Quran and though Delhi, like the rest of North-Western Provinces (U. P.), was far behind the Panjab in the female education, even here in 1845, numerous schools for girls were found kept in private houses⁶. The wives of Maulvis and Bhais were generally taught by their husbands, and instructed their children up to a certain age in reading and religious duties⁷.

1. R. E. 1894-95.

2. see figures above.

3. It was only in the later years of the 19th century that some progressive movements began to pay an attention towards their lot, but nothing was done for them in the field of education.

4. see A. R. 1885-86, p. 141.

5. A. R. 1849-50&1850-51, p. 143.

6. Leitner, 98-99. (Indigenous Education in Panjab)

7. *ibid*, 103.

As soon as Education Department was organised for the Panjab, the subject of female education began to receive attention; but progress was slow, and the people, where they did not evince opposition, took little interest in the movement. Thus the matters stood until the year 1862, at which period the number of the girl schools in the Province was 52, and the number of scholars 1,168. The cost of schools was defrayed entirely from the Educational Cess Fund; nothing being contributed either from the Imperial revenues or from private sources¹.

In the year 1862, an important change took place in the prospects of female education. At the close of that year, a large Darbar or assemblage of the Panjabi nobility and gentry was convened at Lahore by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir R. Montgomery, to witness the distribution of prizes to the successful students of Government and Aided schools. The Lieutenant-Governor during the proceedings, took occasion to draw the earnest attention of the Panjabi gentry of Amritsar and Lahore to the subject of providing education for their daughters and he promised them the liberal assistance of Government in carrying out any practical measures they might themselves devise for the purpose².

The exhortations of the Lieutenant-Governor were responded to beyond expectations. Committees of Panjabi gentlemen were formed at the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, and it was arranged that the family priests of certain of the best Hindu Sikh families should each undertake to teach at least one female from his own or clients' families. Small schools were thus formed, which gradually increased in size and number and the Mohammedans began to join in the movement. The cost of the schools was defrayed, at first, entirely by the Government; and as the Panjab communities strongly objected to their inspection by Europeans, Panjabi Committees of supervisors were appointed, through whom the funds were disbursed³. Belief of the Lieutenant-Governor was that if they desired to see female education take root and prosper, it was essential to enlist the higher classes on the side of the Government⁴. Baba Khem Singh, the head of priestly family of Bedis and an influential man in the Province gave every help to the development of the movement and in one of his speeches he said—those persons, who ignorantly threw desecration on the education of girls, were in truth "fools⁵." A special

1. A. R. 1867-68, p. 93; A. R. 1860-61, p p. 46-47.

2. A. R. 1867-68, p. 93; A. R. 1862-63, pp. 51 & 58.

3. A. R. 1862-63, p. 58; A. R. 1867-68, p. 94.

4. Home (Education) 1864, 29th. Jany. 60-61.

5. Home (Education) 17 May, 25-28.

departure, as permitted by the tone of the Despatch of the Secretary of State for India, No. 5, dated 9th March 1864, was made in the Grant-in-aid Rules, in giving aids to Female Schools in Lahore and Amritsar, and to those opened by Baba Khem Singh in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Gujrat districts¹. The example of the people of Amritsar and Lahore was soon followed elsewhere. The first impulse to the female education was given by Captain Elphinstone, the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, and this was followed up by W. P. Cooper, C. B., Deputy Commissioner of Delhi. Both these officers established numerous schools, and in some degree conquered the prejudices which had hitherto prevented the education of girls. But a much more influential measure was the securing of the co-operation in the cause, of the principal chiefs and of the gentry of Lahore and Amritsar².

In 1865, noted the Government of the Panjab, by operating mainly through the leaders of the society, irritation or alarms had as yet been avoided, and the distrust with which female improvement had been regarded was undoubtedly beginning to give way among the better and middle classes, though the movement had probably not as yet made much way amongst the agricultural population³. Under this impulse, nearly 1,000 schools with 20,000 girls had been opened by 1866⁴. The Lieutenant-Governor, in 1865, bestowed in public Darbar, suitable awards upon those who had distinguished themselves in the cause of the female education.

But the results were unsubstantial on the whole, and the attendance soon fell off. Nor were the practical results of the movement encouraging and it was admitted in 1868 that hitherto the education imparted had been for the most part of a very elementary character, such as the rudiments of reading and writing Hindi and Persian, and the elements of Arithmetic and some of the schools, it was feared, were schools in name only. The teachers were for the most part very inefficient, nor had efficient supervision been insisted upon⁵.

Still the great object at the time was to remove prejudices and create an appreciation of the value of female education⁶. And it was reported

1. Home (Education), 1865, Dec., 18 to 19, A. Also see Home (Education) 1865, August. 15-21.

2. Home (Education) 1864, 17th May, 25-28.

3. Home (Education) 1865, Oct., 10-11, A.

4. I. G. I. P., i, 140.

5. A. R. 1867-68, p. 95.

6. R. E. 1864 65.

in 1869 that although female education in the province was far from satisfactory, yet prospects for the future were more encouraging. Prejudice against female education had been in a great measure removed, as reported by the Inspector of the Lahore circle¹. But in 1876² and again in 1878, it was reported that the female education was progressing exceedingly slow. Many gentlemen of position, in fact, who had interested themselves in the movement, had done so more from loyalty than conviction and the Lieutenant-Governor remarked that much could not be hoped in a matter so connected with custom and prejudice, although it was the duty of the Government to do what they could³.

The education commission of 1882 recommended the encouragement of female education and a sound system of female education was founded in 1885-86 in which year it was attempted to make the existing schools places of healthy elementary education, adopted to the simple requirements of the people, and rewards for diligent work were substituted for payment for mere attendance. An Inspector of Schools was appointed in 1889. The grant-in-aid rules specially provided for the encouragement of female schools⁴.

But all the Education Reports as well as the Administration Reports of the Panjab in the last decade of the century agreed on the point that the progress of female education in the Panjab was unsatisfactory⁵. In 1897 it was reported that only 1.3 per cent of the girls of school-going age in the Province were under school instruction. All the girls in High Schools and more than half of those attending Middle Schools were European, Eurasian or the Indian Christians. The statistics would have been even more unfavourable but for the grant of scholarships. Not only did Panjabi girls receive education free in all but exceptional cases, but of those who had reached the Middle stage, more than 1 out of every 2 was in the receipt of a scholarship, while in the Upper Primary Department no less than 751 scholarships were held among 1,081 pupils, or about 3 for every 4 girls. Want of qualified female teachers was another problem⁶. As in 1897, so in 1901, the female education remained in infancy⁷. Private schools for girls were, however, on the increase, which showed that with a general appreciation of female education and

1. R. R. 1868-69. p. IV.

2. A. R. 1875-76, p. 61.

3. R. E. 1877-78.

4. I. G. I. P., i, 140 ; A. R. 1892-93, p. 324.

5. For instance see R. E. 1889-90 ; A. R. 1896-97.

6. A. R. 1896-97 (summary) ; see also K. B. Thapar, 49.

7. R. E. 1901-1902.

a revived religious enthusiasm a number of schools had been started by benevolent societies and private individuals for the benefit of girls. The Department was doing its best to encourage private schools by awarding grants on very easy terms¹.

A brief account may here be given of the causes of the decline of female education. The first and the foremost among them was that formerly the mother could teach the child Panjabi, now wherever the child learnt Urdu, the teaching power of the mother was lost. Secondly, the weakening of the religious feeling had caused a decrease in all indigenous schools, including those conducted by women. Thirdly, formerly a woman guilty of misconduct was criminally punished, so that the safeguards against it were strong, and there could be less objection to granting women more education and greater freedom. Since the introduction of the English law², adultery, for instance, could comparatively speaking, be committed with impunity, and the necessary consequence was that the male population watched with greater jealousy any attempt towards emancipating the female sex. Fourthly, the female education given by the English was avoided by the more respectable. It would have been best to proceed through the agency of the Indian priests, in whom the people had their faith. And lastly, the female schools were kept in public places³, attempts were made to inspect them, thus preventing the very patrons of the schools from sending their daughters to them.⁴

(4)

THE POINTS OF CRITICISM

In conclusion, a brief account may be given of the various general points in the educational system, which sometimes raised very interesting discussions among the papers in the Panjab.⁵

1. A. R. 1901-1902. p. 167.

2. See Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab, etc., 1868, p. 34—views of the editor Koh-i-Nur of 21st December showing, how the respectable people still loved their women to be confined at home.

3. Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab etc. 1868, p. 34.

4. Leitner, 108-109.

5. Pointing out the critics here below does not, however, mean that there was none among the lovers of education, who appreciated the Government's efforts in the field. For as early as in 1868 we find one Sirdar Jamal Singh of Khondla (an important personality in connection with the subject) saying in a speech at Patiala that: Although people of all creeds had praised knowledge, still the Government had done more than all in expending lakhs of rupees for public benefit in the establishment of schools, the fruits of which were 'light' and 'improvement', combined with 'dignity', to seekers after knowledge, as it made them know how to perform their duty to God, without which knowledge, they would have suffered thereafter in the future world. Home Secret, N. P. R. Panjab etc., 1868, p. 34. (Continued Foot Note on Next Page)

(A) EDUCATION AND THE WORLDLY AMBITIONS

Addressing the 3rd Convocation of the Panjab University on Saturday, the 15th November 1884, remarked Mr. Baden Powell: "The Oriental mind not only habitually associates learning with the religious or priestly classes, but also rather admires, than otherwise, the poor student living almost on a crust and taking refuge in mosques, dharmshalas and elsewhere with no idea of doing anything but being learned for learning sake. Our idea of education in England is very different. We conceive of education either as indispensable for practical success in the world's business, or as a necessary complement to wealthy leisure, since the rich man, who need not to work his brain or use his head for his own maintenance, would be alike intolerable and unfit for the very important duties he has to discharge, without the refinement and knowledge.....To us, therefore, it appears strange that men should be helped to learning who neither have wealth nor intend to work in some profession or trade¹."

This idea about education, according to the critics of the Government's policy, might not be wrong provided too much emphasis was not laid on the worldly ambitions at the cost of moral and religious education. But it was the principle of worldly ambition rather than that of morality and religion, which seemed to have dominated the educational system of the Panjab. The first and most important aim of the Government in education, as they had declared themselves², was the elevation of the people at large. The second and subordinate one was, to raise a class of officials. Yet, according to the critics, it was the second rather than the first aim, which worked better³, as it would be clear from the fast progress of English—which was an avenue to the lucrative Government employments—even at the cost of other indigenous languages.

The Fast Progress of English. In any general system of education, the Education Despatch of 19th July 1854 had recommended (para 13): "the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with as

Nor is there any necessity to mention here the too well known benefits the English education conferred on the people of India. It gave us the sense of unity and brought us in contact with more advanced literature. It was the result of this education that we were enabled to read the works of the giants of thought which Britain produced after the 16th century. In fact all the Reform Movements which arose in Panjab during the later years of the 19th century were a product of this education-system. (For details see A. R. Desai's Chapter on Education in his 'Social Background to Indian Nationalism'); For Moral defects in the English Educational system in India see Johan Murdoch, Education in India.

1. K. B. Thapar, Convocation Addresses, 1895, p. 31.
2. see Parliamentary Paper, 1857-58, vol. 42, p. 393. paper 72.
3. see Leitner, ii.

careful attention for the study of the indigenous language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language¹”

In 1862, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab was glad to observe the increasing desire of all classes to acquire some knowledge of English language². It was therefore notified under the sanction conveyed in G.O. No. 344 of 14th August 1861, that an elementary English teacher would be appointed to any Vernacular School where the people themselves would guarantee at least 15 rupees as moiety of his salary, the other moiety being paid from the 1 percent Education Cess Fund. His Honour did realize that “no good can come of giving boys a mere smattering of foreign language. If the people themselves however do in reality desire a smattering of English, and find it so useful to them in the busines of life, as to be willing to pay a good deal for it, I think it would be a step in the right direction, to encourage them with Government aid in procuring what they want³.”

In a Note of the Home Department on Elementary English Schools in the Panjab, the Government of India expressed their satisfaction that while rightly encouraging the study of English, the Panjab Government were not loosing sight in some degree of the necessity of guarding against the tendency which had been found so prejudicial in Bengal, viz; of substituting smattering English for a sound practical education conveyed through the medium of the vernacular. Quoting these remarks with all the pride, the Education Report of 1863-64 asserted that “we do not desire to substitute, but to add a smattering of English to the ordinary studies of the Vernacular schools”. The neglect of vernacular studies for the purpose of learning English, it was further added, had been specially prohibited, and the attention both of district and of education officers had been repeatedly directed to the necessity of preventing that evil⁴.

The number of students of English was increasing and the movement had even extended to female schools, it was reported in 1865. It was according to the authorities, indicative of a growing freedom from prejudice in favour of the old routine of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, and a tacit expression of confidence in English rule. At the same time, it was admitted, it had to be regarded as, to some extent, of a feverish

1. Parliamentary Paper, 1854 vol. 47, p. 155, paper. 393.

2. R. E. 1861-62, ii.

3. R. E. 1861-62, pp. 15-16.

4. R. E. 1863-64, pp. 32-33.

character and stimulated by hopes of obtaining high appointments in the public service. It was therefore enjoined not to interfere in the vernacular studies and give undue importance to the study of the English language¹.

But the students of Government Colleges and Zillah schools obtained employment with ease; whereas those of the purely Vernacular Schools with difficulty². The Government repeatedly gave their assurance not to interfere in the vernacular studies in favour of English, but soon after the arrival of Dr. Leitner in Panjab in 1864, the lovers of the Oriental learning had organised themselves not to be satisfied with the non-interference of the Government in the matter alone but to demand an active support for the development of the vernacular studies.

The Two Schools of Thought. Consequently, in the Panjab, two schools of thought were created : the one which advocated the cause of English and the other which stood for the vernacular studies. The former school had its own reasons to forward. The English art courses had the advantage of considerable seniority, a very large superiority in funds, and a great advantage in books³. And Aligarh Gazette, indeed, had many arguments to forward against the revival of Oriental learning. But Anjuman-i-Panjab⁴ had its arguments stronger yet when it argued that no nation in the world had risen to greatness without cultivating and improving its own language and literature and European natives themselves were good proof of the truth of this remark. The object of the supporters of the Oriental learning was not only to revive "the dead Eastern sciences", but also to improve them by the light of the new discoveries of the West. The Oriental literature could not be denounced as all twaddle. True, there were some faults in it, but even English literature was not free from faults. The editor could even compare the Eastern science favourably with European science and in support for his statement he could refer to some Arabic treatises in different sciences. The Indians would not obtain any benefit from Western science until it was taught them through the medium of the vernaculars. Nor was education perfect without a religious education⁵. The Indians at the best could receive only an imperfect English education at the same

1. A. R. 1864-65, pp. 55-56.

2. R. E. 1866-67, p. 27.

3. see Thapar, K. B. (Convocation...), 29.

4. It was a paper of the society 'Anjuman-i-Panjab', which was founded by Dr. Leitner for the revival of Oriental learning.

5. Which was possible only in the vernacular language.

time neglecting entirely the Oriental science and religious education, with the result that their ideas differed in all matters both from their own countrymen and the Europeans. In the opinion of the editor, only those deserved patronage who had distinguished themselves both in Eastern and Western sciences¹.

It was the half triumph of the "Oriental" view (as it was called) that in 1870 the Panjab University College was opened with Oriental School and College².

But the highest education could be imparted only in English. For the students of Vernacular Schools and for Pandits and Maulvis whose studies had been confined to their sacred languages, the Panjab University College offered an inferior though sound general education³. The sons of the higher classes, and especially the official classes, continued their demand for English through which alone they could hope to rise to lucrative appointments in the Government service⁴. Nor could enough be done at once in the creation of vernacular literature⁵. And by 1879, the complaints had begun to be made that the original expectations of the Oriental College were not being realized⁶.

It was the complete victory of the 'Oriental' view when in 1882, in support of their philosophy, the Panjab University was established⁷. But the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab was still sure that the study of the English language in the Panjab would not be in any way impaired by the concession then made to Oriental scholars, due to the continuing existence of the desire for Government employment and the natural wish of students to acquaint themselves with European modes of thought. Nor had he himself the desire to discourage the study of English⁸.

Also there were some hinderances in the way of the realization of the aims of the University. One of the functions of the University was to watch the translated vernacular literature. But the inherent costliness and difficulty of printing vernacular works made it difficult. One great difficulty lay in the variety of characters and the difficulty of printing them

1. Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab, 1880, p. 829.

2. for their aims and objects see above.

3. R. E. 1872-73, p. 53.

4. A. R., 1875-76, p. 59.

5. *ibid*, 61.

6. R. E. 1878-79, p. 2.

7. see above, aims of the University.

8. A. R. 1880-1881.

in type. As regards Persian, this had only partly been obviated by a remarkable system of Persian character, lithography or photo-zincography, designed by Colonel Holoroyd, the Director of Public Instructions. But this method excellent as it was, could never compete with the type press¹.

Moreover within a few years of the establishment of the Oriental College and the Panjab University, certain serious evils were found developing among the vernacular scholars. For any nation seriously to believe that their ancestors discovered, and fixed for all times, the limits of human knowledge some thousands of years ago, and all that is needed is a profound linguistic learning to discern deep truth in the pages of the ancient books, is nothing short of disastrous; and this fact was too well known to the founders of the Oriental College, when they laid down that it would teach ancient literature by modern critical methods as well as by the ancient forms and also permit ancient traditional science to be corrected by the pupil's own appreciation of modern discoveries². Yet all the principles were forgotten and the Oriental College and still more the Panjab University could do little in preventing the Oriental mind from connecting science with divine literature³. The works of the old astronomers, physicians, and so forth, were "Shastras" and belonged to the same category, if not quite to the same rank, as the books of religion⁴. The progressive minds could hardly be attracted towards such a system of education, for the education of their children.

Both in colleges as well as in the schools, thus, English continued in more demand than the vernacular studies and in the last decade of the 19th century it was frequently noticed that among Secondary Schools the tendency was for the Anglo-Vernacular to grow at the expence of the Vernacular branch in spite of the much heavier cost of the former⁵.

This development of English at the cost of vernacular studies, had really "degraded education from an object of mental and moral culture to means for purely worldly ambitions⁶."

1. See Thapar, K. B. 23-25.

2. *ibid*, 29-30.

3. *ibid*, 50-51.

4. *ibid*, 29.

5. See A. R. 1891-92 (summary). In 1897 it was reported that of the total number of boys attending High and Middle Schools who had reached the secondary stage, no less than 70 percent learnt English. Above the middle stage vernacular education was hardly appreciable.—A. R. 1896-97 (summary).

6. See Leitner, ii.

(B) EDUCATION AND THE DISCIPLINE

On the 10th April 1868, reported *Rahnuma-i-Panjab*, when children first began to speak, "instead of teaching them good words, the mother and father taught them abuse." It was the sacred duty of parents, the paper added, to see that their children were properly trained; but this was very seldom done¹. While it could not thus, be denied that the ignorant and illiterate parents in Panjab did not much care for morality and discipline among their children, that the schools and colleges of the Panjab should in no way be much better than them in this respect, was more astonishing. "Education", it has been well said, "is not, and cannot be, a thing of vocables. It is a thing of earnest facts, of capabilities developed, of habits established, of disposition dealt with, of tendencies confirmed and tendencies repressed²." Instructions should go hand in hand with discipline; morality should be taught as well as grammar; and if boys do not leave school more honest, truthful and industrious than they entered it, their education has been a failure, even though they should be able to say in what meter *L'Allegre* is written and explain the meaning of the obsolete words in Chaucer's poems. The authorities did realize it, yet this was an evil which existed in the education of the Panjab³.

The Education Despatch of 1858 demanded (para 84) that in Government institutions education should be exclusively secular⁴. And in 1858, the Director of Public Instructions, Panjab, ordered all village schools to be removed from the precincts of mosques and buildings of religious character, of which, hitherto, they had been a part⁵. Nor was any favour shown to Christianity, as in 1863 when the Director of Public Instructions, Panjab, proposed, for the formation of a fund, with the aid of Government, for giving prizes for proficiency in Christian knowledge, to be competed for by pupils in the Punjab schools; the Secretary of States warned in clear words that, it was directly opposed to the order contained in the Despatch of the 19th July 1854 and suggested the Panjab authorities to acquaint themselves fully, with the principles contained in it⁶. The policy was further confirmed when in 1864, the Lieutenant-Governor, Panjab, regretted that when the

1. Home Secret Panjab etc., 1868, p. 202.

2. A. R. 1875-76 (summary), quoted.

3. See *ibid*, 59.

4. Parliamentary paper, 1854, vol. 47, page. 155, paper. 393.

5. R. E. 1858.

6. Home (Éducation) 1864, 30th April, 16, B.

Panjab Bible Society, desired without receiving aid from Government, to examine and reward from time to time any scholars, whether of Government Schools or otherwise, who might voluntarily come forward and as a special case it was determined that in the first occasion the examination should be confined to Government scholars he had allowed the Society to circulate notice to schools¹.

Some people in the Panjab believed that it was this religious neutrality of the Government Schools which had excluded the moral side of education². Not only this, some went so far as even to say that the English teaching itself had the effect of not only uprooting all religious feelings, but also the older forms of courtesy, and the tradition of parental and family life and subordination³. This was denied by the authorities in 1872, when it was reported that "if it were so it would be better to have no State Education at all". The fact, the report added was otherwise. The existence of God and the sufficiency of conduct as a rule of conduct, are recognised by all classes who attend our schools, and are assumed in our schemes of study, and in all the relations between master and a scholar⁴. But it was not long before that the authorities realised, the weakness of their system. For in 1876, it was reported, "with respect to the moral influence of our schools, the Lieutenant-Governor has, on former occasions, remarked that the too frequent result of an English education is seen in the deterioration of manners which, in natives of any position trained under their own system, were exceedingly good. To teach modesty, politeness and respect for superiors is a very important part of the training of boys; and this is too much neglected in our schools⁵."

In fact with carelessness towards human virtues, the education in Panjab was so much connected with worldly ambitions that the parents in Panjab had learnt simply to send their children to schools to pass examinations and get jobs⁶. This was the only end as it was the only aim of the education, as it developed.

The evil was known, but hardly any attention was paid to it till the late eighties of the 19th century⁷. In 1882, 'Sahas'⁸ recommended in strong words that elementary education should be combined with religious

1. (Original) Home (Education), 1864, 26th nov., 125.

2. R. E. 1872-73, p. 53.

3. See K. B. Thapar, 27.

4. R. E. 1871-72.

5. A. R. 1875-76 (summary), 59.

6. After Five years in India, Anni C Wilson-1895, p. 153.

7. R. E. 1888-89.

8. (Original) Home 1883, Public, Feb., 187-188.

and moral instructions¹. According to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882, soon a special attention was given to the subject of moral instructions and school discipline, and measures were adopted, including special instructions to Inspectors and teachers and the introduction of Inter-school Rules and of Good Conduct Registers, to secure the end in view. Great progress was made by 1893, in the arrangements for physical training. Gymnastic apparatus had been supplied to nearly all the larger schools; gymnastic teachers had been attached to the Training Institutions, to their individual schools, and as itinerant instructors in districts; playgrounds had been provided; tournaments had been organized and courses of instruction in athletics and elementary drill had been laid down for the various classes of schools². The suggestions of the Panjab Education Conference of 1888 that in the High Department a moral text-book should be added, dealing with virtues and vices and illustrated extensively with moral stories; that in the compilation of this work extracts from great writers should be introduced as far as possible; and that extracts from the sacred writings of various religions might find a place in the book, provided that they should contain nothing which could prove objectionable to the feelings of persons of any religion and other such suggestions were approved by the Lieutenant-Governor and further by Governor-General-in-Council³.

Yet the Panjab Press was not satisfied and in its issue dated 11th June 1888, remarked *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot) : "young men of the present day, who have received an English education, are generally impertinent and impudent⁴." According to *Rahbar-i-Hind* (1890), the Government itself was responsible for the weakness of moral fibre of Indian Students as students and teachers in Government Schools and Colleges did not believe in the existence of God⁵. In 1892, in its issue dated 29th December, *Ataliq-i-Hind* apprehended that as lakhs of educated Indians who were turned out every year by Indian schools and colleges, were either unable or unwilling to earn their livelihood by turning their hands to trade, they would eventually starve unless Government either closed the colleges, placed some restrictions on education or established more industrial schools, because they could not provide employment for all of them in

1. A. R. 1892-93, p. 324.

2. Para 27 of the Govt. Resolution No. 144, dated 25th July 1888 and letter No. 309, dated 20th Aug. 1888, from Home Dept., respectively.

3. Home (Education) 1890 Jany, 68.

4. N. P. R. Panjab, 1888, p. 84.

5. N. P. R. Panjab 1890, p. 26.

public service¹. And in its issue dated 7th September 1895, wrote *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore) : Education being imparted in Panjab was worse than useless, seeing that it only made the students proud and unfit to pursue the avocations of their fore-fathers. The higher education given in Indian schools and colleges served to ruin the constitution of the students, and rendered them unfit for any work other than that of a clerk².

In 1901 further improvement was reported. It was said that moral training continued to receive very particular attention in colleges. In the Government College there was a Union Club as well as a Reading Room, most of the students were zealous in the performance of their religious duties, and the prevailing moral tone was good. The Forman Christian College had a flourishing Temperance Society conducted in the interest of temperance, purity, and social advancement. In the Khalsa College moral and religious instruction was given regularly to every student, as also in all the Mission Colleges. In schools moral training had received greater attention than usual through (1) Teacher's Associations for the discussion of moral and educational subjects ; (2) increased interest in games with their valuable lessons of co-operation, self-reliance, self-control and sympathy ; (3) the devotion of more time by the inspecting officers to matters of discipline and organisation ; (4) more general employment of school monitors ; (5) the growing taste for memorising and reciting dramatic and other poetical selections of an edifying character ; (6) strict application of the grant-in-aid rules concerning discipline and organization ; (7) a more general employment of resident superintendents of boarding-houses ; (8) the increase in the number of trained teachers ; (9) the introduction of class singing ; (10) more attention to cleanliness of person and dress in the lower classes ; and (11) more active play-ground supervision by teachers³. But the press opinion still, did not seem to have been satisfied and some of the papers continued in their tone of criticism of the lack of discipline among the students who were a product of the English education.

(C) THE SUPERFICIALITY

Another weakness of the educational system brought forward was that neither English nor literature was taught by any scientific or intelligent

1. N. P. R., Panjab 1892, p. 3,

2. N. P. R., Panjab, 1895, p. 554.

3. A. R. 1899-1900, p. 168.

system¹. The scholars yearly sent out by those literary institutions had a slight acquaintance with several branches of learning and science, but they were not masters of any². Art course in colleges, encouraged superficiality of study rather than depth, diffuseness of reading rather than concentration and thoroughness. Sir Charles Aitchison, in 1883, forwarded that in the Panjab academical course the number of subjects that were absolutely compulsory was fewer, and the range within which a student could chose and profess subject was wider than elsewhere³. Yet Tajul Akhbar (Rawalpindi) condemned the existing system of education. Particularly, in its view, the students in the Primary and Middle Schools were required to read many subjects and failed to acquire a competent knowledge of either English or Urdu⁴.

(D) SOME MINOR POINTS

The Panjab press took a lively interest in educational developments during the last decade of the 19th century, and the one point over which most of the papers agreed was that the Government had neglected the higher Education in the province. Thus wrote Paisa Akhbar (Lahore) in its issue dated 7th September 1895, that Higher Education was the only means by which the material and moral welfare of the country could be promoted, but that unfortunately Government was reducing the expenditure on it, thereby discouraging it⁵.

There was another important point of disagreement with the Government and in the opinion of the Paisa Akhbar the result of throwing the burden of maintaining primary schools on municipalities, was that the latter were compelled to neglect sanitation etc.⁶ The Victoria Paper in its issue dated 4th September 1901 wrote that it was to be regretted that since the schools had been made over to Municipalities the prestige of school masters had suffered very much. Their pay and pension had been considerably affected, and their position had been reduced to that of ordinary Municipal servants. The majority of the members knew nothing about education, and it was an oft-repeated fact that Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners took very little interest in improving the efficiency of schools.⁷ The result of all this criticism seems to have been good and actually under the orders of the Government of India issued in

1. Leitner, viii.

2. Rahbar-i-Panjab, 4th July 1876, N. P. R. Panjab etc., 1876, 324.

3. K. B. Thapar, 14-15.

4. N. P. R., Panjab, 1889, pp. 299-300.

5. N. P. R. Panjab, 1895, p. 554.

6. *ibid*, p. 554.

7. N. P. R., Panjab, 1901, pp. 579-580.

1901, it was declared that the Zillah Schools would again be taken over by the Government Education Department¹.

Nor could the policy of the Government towards the practical education satisfy its lovers. Nur Afshan from Ludhiana, wrote in its issue dated 11th January 1901 with regrets that although for some time past there had been a great deal of talk about the want of practical education in the country, very little had so far been done to supply that demand. About ten years back, it added, Government sanctioned the opening of clerical and commercial classes in the Municipal Board Schools, but that nothing had yet come of it². Ataliq-i-Hind (Lahore) was never tired of suggesting to the Government to open industrial schools, if they wanted to avoid the problem of educated unemployment.³

1. A. R., 1901-1902, p. 168.

2. N. P. R., Panjab, 1901, p. 42.

3. N. P. R., Panjab, 1892, p. 3,

Agriculture and the Allied Problems

It is beyond all doubts that in the Panjab agriculture was the oldest and by far the largest and most important industry. It provided not only the food that was absolutely necessary for the lives of the people, but also the raw produce by which alone imports were paid for, the commodities on which the commerce of the province was based, and the material for such industries as the province possessed¹. It is necessary therefore to give here a short account of the agricultural methods of the Panjab peasant and the developments in this respect.

(1)

CULTIVATION

Harvests. The Panjab had two harvests: *rabi* (*hari*) or spring, sown mostly in October-November and mostly reaped in April-May; and the *kharif* (*sawani*) or autumn, sown in June-August and reaped from early September to the end of December. Both sugar-cane and cotton, though sown earlier, were autumn crops. The spring sowing followed quickly on the autumn harvesting. To the spring succeeded the extra (*zaid*) harvest, chiefly tobacco, melons, and similar crops, harvested late in June². Speaking generally, the tendency, as irrigation developed, was for intensive cultivation in the *rabi* to replace the extensive cultivation of the *kharif*.

Ploughing. The advantages of frequent ploughing were thoroughly recognised, especially for wheat and sugar-cane, for which a fine seed-bed was essential.

The following proverbs on the subject are interesting³:

Je hal di bahi awe ras
Chare Bed karakkan pas

1. Calvert. W. W. P., p. 4.

2. For different diseases and blights incident see Appendix A.

3. R. M. S., 80-84.

If you know how to plough properly you have obtained the four Vedas (i.e. you have everything).

Jitana hul

Utna hi phal

The more the ploughing the better the crop.

Hul dewe char,

To fasal howe maromar

If you give four ploughings then the crop will be abundant.

But the plough used remained an implement of simple construction, made of wood with an iron or iron-pointed share and drawn by a single yoke of oxen. Although according to the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel G. B. Tremeneere, the Superintending Engineer, Panjab, in 1853, under the peculiar circumstances of climate and soil, the Panjabi plough in its simplicity and lightness was the best¹, certain efforts were made to introduce generally a better plough in the Panjab, which hardly bore any fruit².

On the hills the plough could only be used where there was a tolerably large area for each field. But it often happened that the fields arising in terraces one above the other were only a few feet in breadth. In such localities the plough gave way to hand hoeing and digging. The plough when used was just like that of the plains. Some of the tools were especially adopted for strong soil and for breaking up stones too large to move without assistance. But they were all simple in construction³.

Sowing. The peasant in the Panjab was not ignorant of the value of the better methods of sowing and of the selection of better seeds, as the proverbs say⁴ :—

1. he held that in England, the object was to break up hard masses of mould or stiff clay and to get rid of superfluous moisture, while in Panjab, in light and tractable soil, scarcely a clod could be seen, and to preserve, in the sub-soil, the rain and moisture it imbibed at certain periods, was the cultivator's greatest care. It was evident, therefore, that deep ploughing would be unsuited to such conditions. If the surface was loosened so as to allow the delicate fibers of the roots to penetrate and to secure the free access of air, it would be sufficient; to turn up the moist soil from below, and expose it to a hot sun and drying wind, would be most injurious—Selection from Correspondence, Vol. I, 1853, p. 195.

2. See Parliamentary Papers, Commons, Accounts and Papers—Famine Commission, vol. LXXI, Part II, 1888. pp. 179-180; also I. G. I. P. Vol. I. 1808. p. 58; D. G. Lahore—1893-94. p. 150; D. G. Rawalpindi, 1893-94 : p. 148.

3. See for details Powell, i. 314-321.

4. See R. M. S., 108-111.

*Bi Chunne,**Fasal Sunne*

Select your seed and you will reap a golden crop.

*Ik pai muthi,**Te char pai nali*

(Sowing) broadcast gives one pai (a measure), (sowing by) tube gives four.

There were three methods of sowing : by scattering the seed broadcast on the surface, by dropping it into the furrow by hand, or by drilling through a tube attached to the plough handle. The last method if skilfully used, deposited the seed in the bottom of the furrow, and was employed when the surface was dry. The second was employed in moderately moist, and the first in thoroughly moist soils¹.

Rotation. The same crops succeeded each other, year after year, on the same ground. There was no regular system of changes for the renovation of the soil². The Rabi was no sooner removed than the Kharif was sown ; one or the other was occasionally omitted, and the ground left fallow for half, sometimes for all the year, but if no manure had been used, the same crops were annually grown³. But although a regular rotation was almost unknown, there was a succession of crops practiced. It was chiefly observed in lands that had been manured, where, in order to make the most of the fertilization, the next sowing consisted of crops which required rich soil, and the next of those requiring less richness, and so on⁴. The succession shown below were generally recognized, but all depended on climatic conditions. soils. the means of irrigation, and the system of agriculture followed in any given tract : great millet, followed by masur and gram; rice, followed by barley, masur, and peas; turnips or cotton, followed by maize; cotton or maize, followed by senji; senji followed by melons. They were followed because having been once or twice found to answer thus had passed into a custom, but the farmers had generally no knowledge of the reason of rotation, or how to improve the system they followed; even during the later years of the century it remained so.

After annexation, the potato, tea, and English fruits and vegetables were introduced. The first named was so important that the people

1. Powell, i, 212-213.

2. See Select Papers of the Agri-Horti. Society Panjab, 1868, p. 68.

3. Selection from Correspondence. i, 1853, p. 196.

4. Powell, i, 204.

called it the hill man's sugar-cane. Attempts made to acclimatize American maize had succeeded only in the hills, and even there the stock had deteriorated. It required nearly five months to mature, and the heat of the plains ripened it too rapidly. In 1901 an experimental farm of 55 acres was started at Lyallpur in the Chenab Colony¹.

Manuring. The Panjab peasant would often say² :—

Dalen raja
Malen kheti

The manure is to the field what the army is to the Raja (king).

and
Khat kare
Ya Kartar kare

Manure does the work, or God does.

Land near a town or village was heavily manured, as also was land near a well, since it could be easily irrigated and valuable crops grown on it. Sugar-cane, maize, tobacco, and vegetables were always manured, wheat, cotton, barley, and melons were manured only when manure was available. Spiked millet, grain, tara mira, and other inferior crops were never manured. Irrigated land was manured much more generally than unirrigated.

Cultivators did collect as much manure as they could, so far as their imperfect system of farming permitted, and their knowledge of other sources from which it might be derived.

Substances used were the animal manure, vegetable refuse, sweepings of the town, of dwellings, and drains; ashes and rubbish of all sorts; earth from old mounds and dykes; the urine of camels was prized in the Leia district. The heaps collected were sometimes distributed among the village community, according to custom. From some towns moist soil was carried to the land.

In Kangra, the dung of all domestic animals and the leaves of certain trees were used as manure. The dropping of the flocks of the hill shepherds who brought both sheep and goats to feed in the low lands during the winter in Kangra, were much sought after. Ashes and lime were also occasionally applied, but rather to destroy insects than as manure; and that only on which were strictly speaking "garden crops". In the

1. I. G. I. P., i. p. 62. ; D. G. Rawalpindi. 1893-94, pp. 153-154. ; Parliamentary Papers, Commons, Accounts and Papers. Famine Commission, Vol. LXXI, part. ii, 1888, pp. 177-179.

2. R. M. S.

cis-Sutlej states, the earth, which crumbled from old mud walls besides the foregoing substances, was used as manure¹.

All the substances collected, like the cow-dung and other animal excrements, litter, vegetable refuse, ashes, rubbish, sweepings of houses and of yards, were kept in heaps outside the villages, and exposed to the weather for a considerable time, before being applied as manure to the land. After one or two years, but without any definite rule, it was spread on the field at the time of ploughing. It was not thought fit for use, till it had been allowed to ferment for a year, but on the other hand it was often carried out before the straw and other substances have had time to decay. In either case, it was unfit for the land, and an examination of them reported in 1853, had shown that only 40 per cent of its bulk was calculated to afford any nourishment to the growing crop. After a twelve month's exposure to a tropical sun and rains, there remained little of its fertilizing properties; the nitrogen and ammonia from animal substances, most essential to vegetation, must have been long before expelled.

Many substances, as bone-dust and lime were available, and within the cultivator's means and reach, to add to the exuberance of his crops, but they were little cared for. The cattle were left most carelessly and without any economy of the manure they yielded. They stood for the most part, under trees which surrounded the wells at which they worked, instead of being kept under sheds where litter could be usefully mixed with their dung and nothing lost. The practice of using cow-dung for fuel seriously diminished the natural supply of manure².

There could be no doubt that manure under the British rule began to be valued more than it formerly was. The collection from the large towns of night-soil and other refuse, which at one time were absolutely neglected or resolutely rejected, were now much sought after and were a source of considerable income to several municipalities. Efforts were also being made in various directions to provide a larger and cheaper supply of wood as fuel so as to set free more cow-dung, if possible, to be used as manure. Yet too much of the manure was still allowed to become useless and much was used as fuel³.

Weeding and hoeing were resorted to only for the more valuable

1. Select Papers of the Agri. Horti. Society of the Panjab, 1862, pp. 70—71; Powell, I, 204—205; I. G. I. P., i, 58—59; D. G. Peshawar, 1897—98, pp. 199—200.

2. Selection from Correspondence, vol. i, 1853, pp. 197-198. See also D. G. Lahore. 1893-1894, p. 152.

3. Provincial Reports on Material Condition, 1894, p. 10.

crops, the crops were cut entirely by hand, and harvesting employed all the menials of a village. Sometimes the people showed a remarkable spirit of co-operation at the time of harvesting, when the neighbours were all summoned and cheerfully came to render the annual service of mutual assistance, for which no pay was taken, though the owner provided them with their homely meals. Musicians were got together, and laughing girls with kilted skirts were standing up to gather. Work went on merrily to the weird sound of music and drum. The singers chanted of love, always however in the minor key, to the running commentary of the light-hearted girls, who emphasized each point with many a joke upon their comely neighbours, while the bystanders lost no opportunity of throwing in a rough jest to raise the colour in the cheeks of the girls before them¹.

Grain was mostly trodden out by cattle. The implements in use, of a primitive type, and simple in construction, were well adapted to the cultivator's needs, but were all capable of improvement².

(2)

IRRIGATION

"As the extension of railways tends to lessen the acuteness of a famine, so the extension of works of irrigation tends to prevent it³."

Irrigation in the Panjab was firstly effected by natural causes—rain, rivers, and inundation, etc. In almost every district there were portions which were out of the reach of artificial irrigation, and so were dependant on rain, and whole crops were often lost for want of it ; but there were only a few kinds of crops (e.g., gram) that were as a universal rule, left to the care of rain⁴.

The two main types of artificial irrigation in the Panjab were (1) wells and (2) river channels and canals.

The number of wells in use in the Panjab at annexation was 1,36,638⁵. These wells were of two kinds—"kutcha" and "pucka." Kutcha wells were merely dug in the earth without masonry walls or

1. Gore, F. St. J. 'Light and Shades.....' 1895, p. 108.

2. I. G. I. P., i, 59.

3. Holderness-T. W. H. Narrative of Famine in India, 1896—97. p. 55.

4. Powell, ii, 205—206.

5. R. A. R., 1862—63.

casing. In some kinds of soil they did very well, where the clay was strong and tenacious ; but in other places, especially in the low *khadir*¹ lands, they soon fell in. In some districts, they were worked by a rude kind of Persian wheel, just as a *pucka* well was. In others, especially in the cis-Sutlej districts, the water was raised by means of a lever of balanced pole erected over the well ; one arm of the lever carried a large earthen "*ghara*", or vessel holding about six gallons, which was let down into the well and raised again by a person pulling down the other arm of the lever ; this apparatus was called a "*dhenki*". It was the most laborious and least productive of all methods of cultivation. The man's hands often got cut by lowering and raising the "*ghara*."

In *Khadir* lands the depth before water was reached varied from 6 to 20 feet, but in the high *banjar*² lands it was much more, varying from 20 to 60 ; the water was abundant, but was procured with great labour ; the *dhenki* was not employed for a very deep well. An apparatus called the "*lao charsa*", or "rope and bucket" was also in vogue for raising water ; but though it was everywhere to be seen (worked by hands) on wells whence water was obtained for domestic purpose, it was little, if at all used in the trans-Sutlej Panjab for irrigation³. The "*lao charsa*" in the cis-Sutlej was worked by bullocks⁴.

Pucka wells were those which had an internal wall of masonry and a *pucka* coping ; sometimes this was expanded into *chabutra* or flat terrace, on which the villagers sat, when they gathered together for a sale or any discussion, or to rest after the day's labour and smoke their "*hukas*." *Pucka* wells were usually worked by the "*harth*", or Persian wheel. Sometimes over large wells there were two sets of wheels bearing the belt and pots, and placed parallel to each other. The well was then called "*domalah*", or in Panjabi *dohortha*, or "*do-chuthi*". The single wheel was called "*ek-hartha*."

These wells were often the joint property of several owners, who took it in turns to work them⁵.

In the Jhelam district however the well was something quite unlike the deep well of other districts with its Persian wheel. It consisted merely of a small pit in the low land by the side of a ravine. Each had only 2 or 3 acres attached to it but the ground was kept highly manured, and tilled

1. *khadir* or Low lying land near river—see S. M.
2. upland tract—see *ibid*.
3. Powell, i. 207.
4. S. R. Ambala, 85.
5. Powell, i, p. 208.

like a garden, and all sorts of vegetables were raised¹. The cost of sinking a well in 1868, ranged between 50 and 300 rupees². In 1902, the average cost of a masonry well was found to be at least 300 rupees³.

The amount of land irrigated by a well depended on the nature of the soil, depth of water from the surface, and condition of the well ; but most of all on the number of yokes it was worked by. In bar land, one yoke was equal to irrigating 5 acres in the year, whilst in the banjar lands and khadir it reached 7 or 8 acres. The soil of the khadir and banjar tracts however absorbed more water than that of the bar. Buffaloes were mostly used in the "bar". They were also coming into use in the banjar lands, but in the khadir inferior bullocks could do the work. Buffaloes were superior in strength to bullocks ; but could not work in the sun so well. The expenses of irrigation were least in the khadir, and greatest in the bar ; in the latter the water was often so far from the surface, that it was by no means uncommon to see two yokes of buffaloes working together at one well.

Another kind of irrigation was by jhalar (or chalar). It was used only in such localities as exhibited the peculiarities to which this method was adopted. A 'chalar' was merely the Persian wheel, of a common well transferred to the bank of a canal, the margin if a jheel, or the high bank of a river. A small pool was excavated immediately below the "chalar" to collect the water, and afforded the wheels a sufficient surface to work upon. As almost the whole expense consisted in the wood-work, "chalars" were constructed in great number, and abandoned again without materially affecting the prosperity of the zamindars.

In some places there was a modification of this called a "raota" or "phiraoti", when there was only a wheel fitted with the belt and jars, and a man located on the bank turned the wheel with his foottread mill fashion, aided with his hands also⁴.

The construction and maintenance of wells had been mainly the result of private enterprise. British Government after annexation, however, encouraged the sinking of wells by granting takavi loans on easy terms for such purposes, by liberal assessment for land revenue of land watered by wells, and by securing the tenants againsts an increase of rent or of land revenue on account of such improvement.

1. S. R. Jhelam—Brandreth.

2. Powell, i, 209.

3. Indian Irrigation Commission, 1902, p. 300.

4. Powell, i, 209.

Immediately after the annexation, numerous sums were advanced, and during one year of threatened draught, the readiness of the state to give assistance was notified by a proclamation, setting forth that any proprietor, who might accept a loan, and therewith construct a well or other work of irrigation, would, at the coming settlement, be taxed only for unirrigated land. In some of the arid districts adjoining the central wastes, the people gladly availed themselves of this proffered succour¹. But on the whole, the fifty years history of these and other such advances to the agriculturists in the Panjab, is only a history of carelessness on the part of the agriculturists to apply for and accept them. Since these advances always play an important part in the development of agriculture, a brief account of the developments in this connection may here be traced.

The advances. The *takavi* advances which equalled to Rs. 26,504 in 1858-59, were Rs. 57,670 in 1867-68². In the eight years from 1867-68 to 1874-75 inclusive, the advances were on an average Rs. 1,22,988 a year. This period included two years of famine and distress, 1868-69 and 1869-1870. Excluding these two years the average was Rs. 86,747 per annum only³. This was too discouraging a response. The zamindars were more in the habit of resorting to the village bankers than to the Government for loans. The Land Improvement Act (XXVI of 1871) under which new rules were issued to simplify the procedure of advances and to extend the period of repayment was a step to relieve the zamindars of the necessity of resorting to the village bankers for loans⁴. Yet it failed in its purpose and the very next year (1872-73) of the enactment, the Government of Punjab seemed to have been confused whether the diminished resort to loans was result of an increase in private capital or of defects in the working of the existing rules⁵.

A large decrease was rather noticed in 1873-74 in the amount of *takavi* Advances since the introduction of the rules under the Land Improvement Act (XXVI of 1871). The Financial Commissioner attributed the decrease to (1) the novelty of system and (2) the seasonable rainfall, and consequent prosperity; but the Lieutenant-Governor was not convinced of this explanation and suggested that the working of the rules had to be carefully observed⁶.

1. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 132.

2. R. A. R. 1867—68.

3. R. A. R. 1886—87.

4. R. A. R. 1871—72.

5. R. A. R. 1872—73.

6. R. A. R. 1873—74.

During 1875-76 further improvement was made in the system of advances, in order to encourage the response of the zamindars towards them¹. Yet the amount of advances during 1876-77 equalled only to Rs. 97,097. In a province of small proprietors, where there was so much waste land available for cultivation, a system of Government loans for wells and water courses ought to have been more successful than it actually was². Replying to a question in the inquiries issued by the Famine Commission in 1878-79, said Colonel W. G. Davies, C. S. I., Commissioner of Delhi: In the case of proprietors there could be no doubt that the fear of having to pay an enhanced assessment in consequence of any improvement operated in checking improvements towards the close of the period for which a settlement had been made. But this could not be said to have any permanent effect in restraining the investment of capital in improvements. The case of tenants was different; besides ignorance of their rights, there was always before them the knowledge that they might have to pay a higher rent if they sank a well or otherwise increased the productive capacity of their land, and this knowledge essentially had the effect of permanently checking any disposition on their part to lay out money in improvement³.

In 1880-81, orders were passed that the applications "for loans should be taken up and disposed of by officers while on tour in the cold weather." The terms of repayment and security were made yet more easy, and the Lieutenant-Governor hoped that these directions would have a good effect in inducing the people to apply for advances⁴. During 1881-82, the Panjab Government were actually encouraged when in the year not only had the sum of Rs. 1,50,000 assigned for advances in the Panjab been completely taken up, but it had also been found necessary to apply to the Government of India for further sanction to a similar account⁵.

Under the Land Improvement Loans Act No. XIX of 1883 further improvements were made in the system of advances. Loans were made at 6½ percent per annum interest, and on the security of the borrower's holding⁶. The agriculturists Loan Act. XII of 1884, laid down the system under which advances were made on the personal security of the

1. R. A. R. 1875-76.

2. Moral and Material Progress Report, 1876-77, p. 29.

3. Panjab Report in reply to the Enquiries Issued by the Famine Commission, ii, 1879-79, p. 592.

4. R. A. R. 1880-1881.

5. R. A. R. 1881-82.

6. For details see Rev. & Agri., 1885, Rev., June, 9 to 11.

cultivator, and practically only in or after draught, to enable him to replace cattle that had died and to purchase seed¹. On the Agriculturists Loans Bill in 1883, there were frequent discussions among the papers in the Panjab².

The *Koh-i-Nur* in its issue dated 27th December 1813, thus reported that although the Agriculturists Loans Bill was without doubt a great improvement on the existing law, the difficulty was that cultivators were already generally deep in the books of Mahajans (money-lenders) and had nothing to offer as security for new loans they might desire to obtain from Government. Moreover, there were other reasons which led to imagine that the measure would not be successful to any large extent : (1) Applications for loans would have to be submitted on stamped paper, and evidently a poor man could ill afford to incur any such expense. (2) Applicants would necessarily have to dance attendance at revenue courts for some days, and to submit to the tyranny of officials before they succeeded in obtaining money. (3) Although the rate of interest fixed was moderate, the period within which loans would have to be repaid was extremely short and must deter cultivators from taking loans. (4) Above all, cultivators must naturally prefer to deal with the Mahajan than with the Government, because the latter lent them money only for improvements, while the former made advances for all purposes³.

The Government seems to have given a special consideration to these difficulties of the agriculturists when they laid down that for loans for the improvement of land, applications could be made orally or in writing to Naib Tahsildars or officers superior to them ; that Tahsildars and Naib Tahsildars were to be constantly on tour in their circles so that the zamindars could have every facility for bringing their wants to the knowledge of officials and that Stamp and Registration dues were to be remitted on documents connected with these loans⁴.

The amount of advances under Agriculturists Loans Act of 1884 varied greatly from year to year. In 1886-87 they only slightly exceeded the fixed allotment for the Province, viz., Rs. 25,000. In the same year the allotment was raised to Rs. 1,05,000, to meet the special and emergent circumstances⁵. In 1887-88, in its review of the Revenue Report for 1887-88, the Local Government laid down the principle that

1. See Rev. & Agri., 1885. Rev., Sept., 46—47. Also R. A. R. 1886—87.

2. See Home 1884, Public, B. Feb., 172—73.

3. N. P. R., Panjab, N. W. F. P. etc. 1883, pp. 1—3.

4. For details see Indian Irrigation Commission Panjab Evidence. 1902, p. 144.

5. R. A. R. 1886—87.

advances for purchase of bullocks should be made only where there had been unusual loss of cattle by disease or famine.

The system of advances, inspite of the earnest efforts of the Government, could not be made popular with the agriculturists. The Government of India, in its Review of the Panjab Land Revenue Administration Report for 1889-90, remarked ; "The falling off in the amount of advances (after a small rise) under the two Loans Acts was noticed with regret. The subject appears to meet with very unequal attention from District Officers¹."

During 1895-96, the amount of advances under the two Acts was Rs. 4 lakhs² and in 1899-1900 they reached the figure 13,50,000. This increase was, however, due to agricultural distress in the Panjab towards the close of the century and the amount of advances under the Land Improvement Act separately, did not show any big increase³.

The total number of wells in use in the Province had increased from 146,000 in 1849 to 317,000 in 1900-1901⁴. Of 9,375,983, the total area of crops irrigated during the year ending 30th September 1900, 4,154,598 were irrigated by wells. Wells thus remained one of the most important means of irrigation⁵. Yet on the whole the progress made towards the extension of irrigation by wells in Panjab which was one of the purposes of the Government advances, was during these years, not such as to be taken pride of.

The process of granting advances under the Land Improvement Loans Act was considerably simplified about the year 1901, but the accounts were still very complicated. Interest was charged at 6½ per cent, and it was thought necessary to keep an elaborate account of repayment of principal and interest separately for each instalment which confused the borrower and caused extra labour to the officials concerned. This was one cause of the unpopularity of Land Improvement Loans. Other causes were : the difficulty in getting a loan which was sometimes caused by the smallness of the grant made available year by year for the province, and the levy of 6½ per cent interest, which, though low as compared with the rates actually charged by private money-lenders, sounded high to the borrower when he was told he would have to repay

1. R. A. R. 1900—91. p. xvii.

2. R. A. R. 1895—96.

3. A. R. 1899-1900, pp. 45-46,

4. R. A. R. 1900—1901, also see Indian Irrigation Commission Panjab evidence, 1902, pp. 299—300.

5. A. R. 1900—1901.

double the amount borrowed if the instalments were spread over 20 years¹.

Mr. F.J. Fagan, Revenue Secretary, Panjab Government held in 1901 that if takavi were allowed without interest, it would add much to the extension of wells². But the Assistant Secretary to the Panjab Government in the Financial Department reasoned that during the 11 years ending 1901, about Rs. 1,500 a year had to be written off on account of irrecoverable loans, that was to say unrealizable principal; how much, if any unrealizable interest was also written off, the account did not show. Moreover the Land Improvement Loans were made from "Provincial Loan Account", over which the province paid interest to the Imperial Government and was charged with all that became irrecoverable. Accepting he added, the principal that there must be at least no loss on money put out to loans by the State, the Government could not under the conditions above stated, safely undertake to surrender the present surplus of interest in such loans by the grant of interest free loans on a larger scale than was already provided for (for special cases) by the existing arrangement³.

CANAL IRRIGATION

"The capabilities of the Panjab for canal irrigation" reported the first Administration Report, "are notorious". Intersected by great rivers; it was bounded on two sides by hills, whence poured down countless rivulets; the general surface of the land sloped southward, with a considerable gradient. These facts at once proclaimed it to be a country eminently adopted, for canals. Nearly all the dynasties, which had ruled over the five rivers, had done something for irrigation; nearly every district possessed flowing canals, or else the ruins of ancient water-courses; many of the valleys and plains at the base of the Himalayan ranges, were moistened by water cuts conducted from the mountain torrents. The people, deeply sensible of the value of these works, mutually combined with an unusual degree of harmony and public spirit, not only for the construction of the reservoirs, but also for distribution of the water, and the regulation of the water supply⁴. Yet, although the Panjabis were not blind to the possibilities of irrigation in the Panjab, at annexation, the only canals open in the province, as it stood before the addition of the Delhi territory after the Mutiny, were the Hasli (later on merged into the

1. Indian Irrigation Commission—Panjab Evidence, 1902, p. 300.
2. See Report on Indian Irrigation Commission, Appendix, 1903, p. 4.
3. Indian Irrigation Commission Panjab Evidence. 1902, pp. 119—139.
4. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 133.

Bari Doab) and a good many inundation canals in the south-western districts.

The canals constructed during the British rule fell into two classes: the perennial canals, with permanent head-works; and the inundation canals which ran only in flood season and irrigated the lowlands along the rivers. By 1900-1901 the major irrigation works constructed were: the Western Jumna Canal, Bari Doab Canal, Sirhind canal, Chenab canal, Lower Sohag and Para (Inundation), Sidhnai canal and the Swat River canal. The minor irrigation works were the Upper Sutlej Inundation canals, Lower Sutlej Inundation Canals, Chenab Inundation canals, Indus Inundation canals, Shahpur Inundation canals, Muzaffargarh Inundation canals and Ghaggar Inundation canals¹.

Western Jumna Canal. The Western Jumna canal was an important perennial irrigation work in the Panjab, taking off the west bank of the river Jumna and irrigating Ambala, Karnal, Hisar, Rohtak, and Delhi districts, and parts of the Indian States of Patiala and Jind. It was by far the oldest of the great canals in the province, and originated in 1356 under Firoz Shah III. Later on it was neglected but in 1568 the emperor Akbar got it re-excavated and in 1656, Ali Murdan Khan, the engineer of the emperor Shah Jahan developed it into a more ambitious scheme. With the decay of the Delhi Empire the up-keep of the canal was no longer attended to. Its Delhi branch was re-opened in 1819, and the Hansi branch in 1833. The alignment of the canal was, however, by no means satisfactory and as early as 1846 it was noticed that the concentrated irrigation, the defective drainage and the high banks which cut off the natural drainage of the country, all contributed to rapid deterioration of the health of the people. Saline efflorescence was rapidly spreading and the inhabitants of the water-logged² area were affected with chronic disorders of the liver and spleen. Between 1870³ and 1882⁴ various remodelling schemes were sanctioned, with the object of securing increased control over the supply and its distribution, greater facilities for navigation, and improved drainage; and this resulted in the complete disappearance of the swamps and accumulation of water and a most marked

1. A. R. 1900—1901, p. 114.

2. See Water Logging, Chapter XXI, p. 382—Brij Narain, 'Indian Economic Life'.

3. Selections, New Series, No. VI. See for further details. It discusses how the existence of spleen, and secondarily the prevalence of malarious type of fever, showed so marked a connection between these inter se, and with the proximity of water to the surface. Dr. Taylor studied the subject and recommended measures for adoption by Canal Department in order to remedy the evil.

4. See Parliamentary Papers, Commons, Accounts & Papers, Famine Commission, Vol. LXXI. Part II 1888 p. 185.

improvement in the health of the people. The Sirsa branch was sanctioned in 1888, and this and subsequent minor extensions largely increased the irrigational capacity of the canal¹.

Bari Doab Canal. It was another perennial irrigation canal in the Panjab, taking off from the left bank of the Ravi, and watering the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore in the Bari Doab or tract of country between the Beas and Ravi. The undertaking originated in a project for the improvement of an older work, the Hasli canal. The Emperor Shah Jahan had begun to turn to account one of the neglected great rivers of his northern province, his inspiration being love for the beauty, not pity for his sometimes starving people. That fountains might play in Shalimar, the royal gardens at Lahore, he cut a canal, the Hasli, from a point on the Ravi 110 miles north of his Panjab capital in 1633, and more than a century later Ranjit Singh and his Sikhs extended it to Amritsar, there to fill the sacred tank about the Golden Temple².

After the occupation of Lahore in 1846, Major Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) turned his attention at once to this project, and set on foot the necessary surveys. The progress of the work was interrupted by the outbreak of war. After the annexation the work was pressed on, because the immediate construction of the canal was regarded as almost a matter of political necessity to provide employment for the disbanded Sikh soldiers, who, having their homes in the centre of the tract, would otherwise have had little encouragement to turn to agriculture. The allignment of the Hasli canal proved on examination to be so defective that the officers incharge decided upon the adoption of an entirely independent line, parts only of the original channel being utilized as distributaries³. Irrigation began in 1860-61, but the permanent weir and other regulating head-works were not completed till after 1875. The head-works were constructed at the village Madhopur in Gurdaspur district⁴.

Sirhind Canal. During the Famine period of 1860-61, the Western Jumna Canal, in watering very nearly half a million acres, and supplying food grains, moderately estimated at five millions of maunds, had doubtless done noble work. And Colonel R. Baird Smith who reported on the famine was thoroughly convinced, that no money could be better spent than in extending the capabilities of the irrigation works in the

1. A. R. 1873-74, p. 78 ; I. G. I. P., i, 202-203.

2. P. P. W., 364.

3. see A. R. 1849-50 to 1850-51, pp. 134-135.

4. I. G. I. P., i, 207.

Panjab¹. The effect of canals in preventing famine was so obvious a subject that the Lieutenant-Governor said in 1867 that it could not be too often, or too urgently pointed out². There was, therefore, a lot of inspiration in Panjab, for the further extension of the irrigational facilities.

Sirhind Canal (perennial) which took off from the Sutlej and irrigated the high land between the Sutlej on the north-west and Patiala and Ghaggar streams on the south-east, and extending as far south as the border of Rajputana, Bahawalpur, and the Bikaner State, was constructed by Government, in association with the Indian States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind³. The land over which the canal was excavated was before it, a black, wretched, and without water, a most sterile land. The wells were so deep that artificial irrigation from them was impossible, the water was so brackish and impure, that no sane inhabitant of the tract could drink it without impunity; rains were scanty and precarious; vegetation was represented by a temporary crop of grass, scattered over the great parched plains. Under circumstances so ungenial, the population was necessarily scanty and lawless, deriving their subsistence from herds of cattle, and addicted to the marauding habits common to pastoral tribes⁴.

The part which the canals can play in civilizing such a population and developing their resources is too well-known to be discussed here⁵. Under such conditions was the preliminary survey work begun in 1867, and the canal was formerly opened in 1882, though irrigation did not commence till 1883⁶.

Apart from money considerations the Sirhind Canal gave comparative affluence to a large population previously leading a hand-to-mouth existence, and in famine years feeded multitudes of starving refugees from Bikaner and Sirsa. Even so, wrote S. S. Thorburn in 1904, it was questionable whether the canalisation of the Sutlej should not have been postponed until one of the easier and most remunerative, and for the ill-looking after Mohammedan population of the Western Panjab, more necessary, Chenab and Jhelam projects had been carried through. Surveys, plans, and estimates for canals from those rivers as well as for the Indus was completed early in the 'seventies, and none of them

1. Smith, Col. R. Baird Report on the Famine of 1860—61, p. 68.

2. Panjab Record for Reference Book for Civil officers, 1867.

3. I. G. I. P., i, 205.

4. Smith, Col. R. Baird Report on the Famine of 1860—61, p. 70.

5. P. P. W., 268—69.

6. I. G. I. P., vol. 1, 205. see also A. R. 1883—84.

presented the same class of engineering problems as had been encountered with in the Ravi, Jumna and the Sutlej.

The Sirhind Canal, no doubt, converted potentially troublesome Sikhs and Jats into well-fed, and therefore contended farmers; but at the same time, coupled with the Bari Doab and Western Jamna canals, gave the Hindu section of the community a great advantage over the Western Mohammedans who were already, owing to their scantier rainfall and less-helpful habits, the chief sufferers from the fixity of demand and the unsympathetic inflexibility of the British rule. By canalising the eastern rivers before breaking ground westwards the Government laid itself open to various charges—the continued neglect of Mohammedan for Hindu interests, the prior protection against famine of the less insecure half of the Panjab, the watering of submontane tracts already supplied with numerous wells, and blessed by a considerable and fairly certain rainfall, and the sinking of a larger capital on construction than would have been necessary for any of the western rivers¹.

The Lower Chenab Canal. It was another perennial canal in the Panjab, taking off from the bank of the Chenab river and entering the tract between it and the Ravi. It was early in the 'eighties that after having canalised the three eastern rivers, the Government turned their eyes westwards to the Mohammedan districts of the province and resolved to successively divert the waters of the Chenab, Jhelam and Indus over their respective Doabs².

The Chenab canal, as an original work, was designed only as a small inundation canal and opened as such in 1887, but in 1889, it was decided to convert it into a perennial canal of the first magnitude. The estimate for the complete project for the Chenab Canal, including a weir and permanent head-works, was submitted to the Government of India for sanction on the 18th July 1889. Sanction to commence preliminary operations was accorded by the Government of India at the end of October 1889, and the actual commencement of work in a telegram dated January 7, 1890. The Secretary of State's formal sanction to the scheme was conveyed in a despatch, No. 2 P. W., dated 9th January 1890³.

The head-works of the canal were constructed at Khanki, a village in the Gujranwala district, 8 miles below Wazirabad. Here a weir across the river, was commenced in 1890 and completed in 1892, by which year

1. P. P. W. 1904, pp. 268—69.

2. The tract between the two rivers.

3. A. R. 1889—90, p. 150.

the supply to the canal was regulated and controlled¹.

Opening ceremony of the Lower Chenab Canal, in 1892, was the turning point in the economic history of the Panjab². The part which the colonisation of the Rechna Doab contributed towards the development of the general prosperity of the province, can hardly be overestimated. A short account of it may therefore be given here separately.

Colonisation of the Rechna Doab. The greater part of the Rechna Doab was before the introduction of irrigation a desolate region, unpeopled except for a race of pastoral nomads. In giving priority to the Chenab over the Jhelam the Government acted upon business principles. As the Rechna Doab was more extensive than the Chaj Doab, and most of its waste—the loose inheritance of Mohammedan tribes—had already been appropriated as state property, its colonisation by peasant settlers from the congested central districts of the province would be more rapid and profitable than that of the less extensive Doab to its west³. The colonisation carried on the land, was actually on a scale hitherto untried in the history of India, if not of the world⁴.

The total area of Government waste in the Doab, to be colonised was about 3,817 square miles. In the first selection of colonists the Government had two main objects in view. Primarily, it was desired to relieve pressure of population in the highly congested districts of the Central Panjab, where conditions in the 'nineties were worse. Secondly it was designed to create villages of a type superior in comfort and civilization to anything which had previously existed in the Panjab. Upon this two-fold basis arose the Lyallpur colony. Subsequently in the 20th century, however, other objects appeared⁵.

The grantees of the land were divided into three classes—capitalists, yeomen, and peasants; the greater part of the land had been distributed to peasants, who were by far the most satisfactory tenants. For the purpose of allotment the whole of the Government waste had been divided into squares, the side of each square being 1,100 feet and the area about 28 acres. A peasant's grant consisted of from one-half to three quarters, yeoman's of four or five, and a capitalist's of any number

1. A. R. 1892—93.
2. P. P. P. D., 1928, p. 130.
3. P. P. W. 270—271.
4. I. G. I. P., i, 208—209.
5. P. P. P. D., 1928, p. 134.

from five to twenty or more. The Government retained the proprietary rights in the land, and the colonists were its tenants, the peasants for a term of years, the yeomen with right of continued occupancy so long as they paid their assessment, while the capitalists had also the right to purchase proprietary rights in their tenancy after the lapse of a certain period of time. In the later stages of colonisation, there also arose tenures which carried the liability to provide a certain number of camels for military service¹.

Early Difficulties of the Colonists and How they were Removed. Early difficulties of the colonists, who were for the most part taken from the central Panjab, and only from the best agricultural tribes, were overwhelming. The country was wide, empty and desolate, the population hostile, and the climate in summer of the fiercest. The tract could only be reached by bullock cart, camel or horse, and even when the first harvest was won, there was no railway to take it to market. Nor was the first harvest by any means an easy affair. Methods of irrigation were in their infancy; levels were not always rightly calculated, and the colonists were allowed to arrive before all the main channels were ready. The land had to be cleared of bush and scrub, fields to be levelled and embanked, and water courses to be made. Sometimes the water refused to run, and nothing could be sown. The indigenous nomads, resenting the alien intrusion into their solitude gave the settlers no peace, stealing their cattle and preying upon them in every possible way. A severe epidemic of cholera made things worse, and it was not till an abundant harvest appeared, that the excellence of the soil was revealed. Even then difficulties were not at an end. Labour was scarce and large quantities of cotton remained unpicked. When harvested, too, the produce had to be conveyed to market by the same perilous ways by which the settlers came. No wonder that many returned in disgust to their homes, little realizing the Eldorado that the wilderness was to come².

By the middle of 1893 the competition for land amongst capitalists and officials, not only throughout the Panjab but beyond its limits, had become very keen : a proof that in the opinion of intelligent men, the margin of profit, after payment of the expenses of production including the Government, demand would be large. The full awakening of the home-tied peasantry to the certain competence awaiting settlers came a

1. I. G. I. P. i., 209—210.; A. R., 1901—1902, X; see also Panjab Colonies Report, 1901—02.

2. P. P. W. D., 1928, pp. 132—133.

little later, and was at first confined to the central and most congested districts, particularly Sialkot, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Even in them there had been hesitation at first, for the conditions on which allotments were offered were strange and forbidding, alienation, non-residence, and failure to cultivate, one and all entailing summary forfeiture of holding; further restrictions being placed against partitions by inheritance. Such unprecedented innovation filled the ignorant peasantry with vague apprehensions. To many the freedom to ruin themselves and their children exercised for generations in their old homes appeared preferable to the shackled abundance now promised. Happily, the Government knew its own mind, and was determined that in spite of the "system", with its laws, lawyers, and enforcement of the letter of so called contracts, colonists should be at the start, and always continue to be, prosperous and unindebted. Reflection soon convinced the more industrious and thrifty that the Government was acting as their best friend in protecting them and their heirs from prospective declension and poverty. When thus, the struggle for allotment began in earnest the Government was in a position to select tenants on its own terms, and in doing so took only substantial men from the most industrious castes and tribes in the congested districts of the Panjab. All settlers thrived amazingly, and many were in a short time able to redeem mortgaged fields in their home villages¹. By 1901, the population of the colony had reached the figure 782,690.

The Lower Chenab thus enormously relieved the pressure of population in the congested districts of the Panjab and to add yet more to its benefits, it proved a most remunerative investment, besides adding largely to the general wealth of the country².

But though the scheme as devised and executed had proved grandly successful³, an unfortunate aspect of the history of colonisation is that the Government sacrificed, or at least postponed, local Mohammedan interests for large and quick returns. As the canal penetrated southwards, converting waste into corn-fields, the Muslim tribes on either bank in its vicinity, the hereditary possessors of the country, were not only denied participation in the abundance flowing by their doors, but were required to stay at home, cultivate their now profitless wells and rainlands, and pay their fixed revenue assessments. The instinct of self-preservation, however, proved stronger than the

1. P. P. W., 1904, pp. 282—283.

2. I. G. I. P., i, 210.

3. see Panjab Colonies Report, 1901—02.

fiats of the Government, and soon, for a depth of thirty miles on either side of the canal irrigated country, wells were abandoned by the hundred, and a large part of the rural population migrated to the canal villages, working there as farm-labourers, artisans, and menials. In this way the fabric of estimates and measurements, on which the assessments of considerable tracts in the districts of Gujranwala, Montgomery, and Jhang were based, was destroyed, and members of previous well-to-do peasant and yeomen families were rendered to want. The peasantry of these three districts were thus at first treated as pariahs and outsiders, in their own country too and a great wedge of industrious foreigners was established in their midst¹.

Other Works. Of the other canals executed during this period, only a short account will suffice. In 1873-74, a project for the irrigation of a portion of the Yusafzai pargana of the Peshawar district by a canal from the Swat river was submitted to the Government of India². The commencement of the works of the Swat Canal was made in 1877-78³. The purpose of the cutting of the canal obviously being mainly political⁴. The canal was opened on the 11th February 1885⁵. The canal cleared its interest debt, and for the first time showed accumulated profits amounting to Rs. 1,42,919 against an interest balance of Rs. 1,28,169 in 1899-1900⁶.

The Upper Sutlej Canals was a system of four inundation canals in the Panjab, known as the Katora, Khanwah, Upper Sohag, and Lower Sohag (or Lower Sohag and Para) canals. They took off from the right bank of the river. Katora Canal was made in 1870-71. The date of the first opening of the Khanwah is not known; it is, however, recorded that the canal was improved by Mirza Khan, a minister of the Emperor Akbar but was neglected by his successors and silted up. In the time of Ranjit Singh, Diwan Radha Ram repaired the head and cleared the channel, and the canal flowed from 1807 to 1823. It was again neglected till 1841, when Fakir Chiragh-ud-din, under the order of Maharaja Sher Singh, had the canal repaired, and it was in flow when taken over by the irrigation department on the annexation of Panjab. The Upper Sohag appears to have been made in 1827, and worked till

1. P. P. P. W. 1904, pp. 283—284.

2. A. R. 1873—74.

3. A. R. 1877—78.

4. A. R. 1880—81.

5. A. R. 1884—85, p. 125.

6. A. R. 1900—1901.

1840. when it was neglected ; and nothing further was done to it till 1855, when, the canal having been taken over by the Irrigation department, the channel was again put into working order¹. The Lower Sohag Canal dated from 1816, when the first attempt to irrigate was made by means of a dam across the Sohag nullah, which caused it to overflow its banks. In 1831 another dam was made. The dam, after some fighting, was demolished in 1835, and from that date the canal existed only in name. In was in 1885-86 that the improved and remodelled canal under its above name was opened².

The Lower Sutlej Inundation Canals were an Imperial system of inundation canals in the Panjab, taking off from the right bank of the Sutlej and irrigating a part of Multan district. They were for the most part constructed in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Daudpotras, a powerful tribe who were then in possession of this part of the country ; but one of the largest, the Diwanwah, was excavated in 1831 by Diwan Sawan Mal. Excluding the Hajiwah canal, territory of which was separate from that of the rest, there were in 1850 nineteen of these canals ; which however, were gradually amalgamated during the later years, and in 1903 there were only three, the Mailsi, Muhammadwah-Serdarwah and Bahawalwah-Lodhran canals³.

Sidhnai canal, which took off from the left bank of the Ravi and watered a part of the Multan district, derived its name, meaning 'straight', from a remarkable reach of Ravi, which extended in a perfectly straight cutting for 10 or 12 miles from Tulamba to Sarai Sidhu. The water was admitted into the canal in May, 1886⁴. In 1887-88, it was reported to have proved the most successful undertaking among the Inundation Canals⁵.

Chenab Inundation Canals was a system of canals which took off from the left bank of the Chenab below its confluence with the Ravi and irrigated part of the Multan and Shujabad tahsils of the Multan district. They were for the most part constructed by the Pathan rulers of Multan and Shujabad, and were once thirteen in number, but by amalgamation the heads in the river were reduced to four, the Mattithal, Wali Muhammad, Sikandarabad, and Sikandarwah⁶.

1. I. G. I. P., i, 213; Foreign, Political, 15th sep, 1849, pp. 29—36.

2. I. G. I. P., i, 214.

3. *ibid.* 216.

4. A. R. 1885—86. A. R. 1886—87.

5. A. R. 1887—88.

6. I. G. I. P., i, 217.

Indus Inundation Canals was an Imperial system of inundation canals, taking off from the west bank of the Indus, and irrigating part of Dera Ghazi Khan district. They were fourteen in number and were constructed mostly by the Mirani chiefs and other native rulers, and were greatly improved by Sawan Mal, a governor under Ranjit Singh. Five, however, were constructed by Baloch chiefs in 1862-63 for the use of their tribal lands, but proving a financial failure, were brought up by Government¹.

Shahpur Inundation Canals system was fed from the Jhelam river mainly situated in Shahpur district. About sixteen of them were owned by private persons and six by Government. Of the latter three were classed as Imperial and two as Provincial, while one, the Pind Dadan Khan canal in Jhelam district, was early in the 20th century, made over to the municipality of Pind Dadan Khan for management. The three imperial canals lay in the Shahpur tahsil, and were developments of a canal dug in 1864 by Colonel Sir William Davies, to supply water to the civil station of Shahpur. In 1870 Government acquired this canal and added two new canals. Of the two Provincial canals the largest was the Raniwah, an old native canal which had fallen into disuse and was re-opened in 1870-71. Corbynwah was constructed in 1879. Pind Dadan Khan Canal did not pay expenses, but it supplied the town with sweet water. Most of these inundation canals were expected to cease to exist as such when Shahpur branch of the Lower Jhelam Canal would be constructed².

Muzaffargarh Canals was an Imperial system of inundation canals in the Panjab, taking off from the left bank of the Indus and the right bank of the Chenab, and irrigated portions of Muzaffargarh district. They were for the most part constructed by the Indian rulers of the district and improved by Sawan Mal. After annexation these canals remained for many years under the management of the Deputy Commissioner, and were transferred to the Canal Department as a 'minor' work in 1880³.

The Ghaggar Canal were an Imperial system of minor canals, taking off from the Ghaggar. Owing to the waste of water in the lakes and swamps of that river, and the insanitary condition to which the low-lying lands in the Valley below Sirsa were reduced, it was agreed between the British Government and the State of Bikaner that the

1. *ibid.*, 218.

2. *ibid.*, 212.

3. *ibid.*, 218.

Dhanur lake about 8 miles from Sirsa, should be converted into a reservoir by the construction of masonry weir at Otu, and that irrigation should be effected by two canals, the northern and southern, taking off from each end of the weir. The Bikaner State was to share the canal supplies and meet a proportionate part of the cost. The canals were constructed with famine labour in 1896-97, and began to irrigate in the monsoon of 1897¹.

Some General Remarks. Some of the general benefits of irrigation in the Panjab have already been discussed above. There are some more points which deserve a separate note. Average out-turn per acre of wheat grown on irrigated lands in the province in the year 1891 was known to be 808 lbs., or 13 bushels; and without irrigation it was 544 lbs., or 9 bushels. Judged from this test, it may be said that the extension of irrigation to 100 acres of land increased the production of the province by an amount equal to that resulting from an extension of cultivation to 48·5 acres, or nearly 50 percent.

But the real benefit of the extension of irrigation was greater even than this. In addition to rendering crops secure from the greatest danger to which they were subject in this country—drought—and thus going far to obviate the possibility of the terrible calamity of famine, it enabled the cultivator to substitute more valuable crops for those which could be grown on unirrigated lands².

Still more, the profit and loss calculation based on the total income, direct and indirect, of the year, as compared with the total capital invested upto the end of 1899-1900, in the case of major works, showed a net profit of Rs. 67,93,613 after paying interest.

Yet the irrigational facilities did not develop to an extent it was desired. The total area irrigated by canals in 1868-69 was 1·37 million acres; that irrigated by wells etc. was 4·61 and total unirrigated cultivated area 14·18 million acres. The figures reported in 1900-1901 were respectively ; 5·06³, 4·30 and 15⁴. And commenting on these irrigational facilities in 1902, remarked Mr. J. Wilson, the Settlement Commissioner, Panjab, the irrigation in the Panjab was yet, but in its infancy. The Government were only beginning to tap the sources of water supply, above and below ground. The great perennial canals,

1. *ibid.*, 215.

2. Provincial Material Condition Report, 1894, p. 9.

3. Of this 4.24 was irrigated by Government and .82 by Private canals.

4. A. R., 1900—1901 ; W. W. P., 67. ; see also Appendix B.

though they absorbed almost the whole of the winter supply in some of the rivers, utilised only a portion of the monsoon supply, and the summer floods passed on to the sea in practically undiminished volume. Meanwhile there was any amount of land available for irrigation. The area of unirrigated cultivated land in the Panjab was some 15 millions of acres and the total culturable uncultivated area was over 21 millions of acres, making a total of 36 millions of acres. Of that area at least 20 millions of acres were commanded by the rivers as they issued from the hills and it was quite possible to add that to the 9 millions of acres already irrigated by canals and wells. Moreover, there were further untold millions of acres in the Rajputana desert which it was quite possible to irrigate from the Panjab rivers¹.

The Government, perhaps, could have done better in their efforts to develop the irrigational facilities of Panjab, had they given some more attention to the Inundation canals in the Panjab. But the unfortunate fact is that while lakhs of rupees were found for the extension of a perennial canal, the cause of the inundation canals suffered. When first, the British Government took over the country in 1849, it failed to realise the need of aiding the people to maintain the existing inundation canals, which began to fall into disrepair and it was only after irrigation and cultivation had fallen off considerably that the necessity of Government interference was realised, and the management of these canals was taken over, first by the Deputy Commissioners and afterwards by the Irrigation Department. The clearance continued to be done by the irrigators and not at the direct expense of the State, they were looked upon not as State canals, from which the State could draw any direct profit, but as in a sense owned by the people themselves. No charge was made by Government for the use of the water, and as no direct income was received by the State from these canals, Government was very reluctant to expend any money on their extension or improvement. Their management was greatly improved in the last 30 years of the century under the control of the officers of the Irrigation Department², but it was always difficult to obtain money to spend on them, and many obviously desirable improvements thus remained in abeyance. Apparently the reason was that no Capital Account was kept for these inundation canals, and this prevented the Government of India from seeing that it was as much a profitable

1. M. J. Wilson, *Indian Irrigation Commission, Panjab Evidence*, 1902, 301.

2. Col. Grey's *Manual on construction and Management of District Canals*; P. W. D., 1885, *Civil Works, Irrigation*. 34/42, B. Also see P. P. W., 1883, *Civil Works, Irrigation*, Sept., 48/50, B. These papers show how people were encouraged to develop these canals.

expenditure of capital in one case as in the other¹.

As for the great and constantly flowing canals, shaded banks of which were the pleasantest refuge the plains could offer one in the hot weather, the achievements of the Government were not small. Of their financial success, they were by far the best investment that the Government of India had ever made. They had largely extended the cultivation of new crops such as rice and sugar, they had given India a permanent granery, and they had opened up huge tracts of desert country to cultivation, relieving the congested districts in the process. The Chenab Canal, the latest big scheme which the Government of India had carried through, was indeed, an achievement of which the proudest Government could afford to be prouder and in the opinion of a high official of the Government : "The Chenab had largely saved the Panjab". In the face of all this, the excessive deliberation, with which the Government set about realizing the rest of the approved canal schemes, was scarcely edifying. The Jhelam project, for instance, was fully authorised in 1888, but nobody seemed to know in 1900 when it would be ready to hold water².

(3)

PROTECTION OF FORESTS

The part played by the forests in the economic condition of a people can hardly be exaggerated. Among the greatest needs of a peasant's which are fulfilled by the forests are fire-wood to replace manure ; small timber for house and wood for implements, as well as grazing and fodder for his cattle. Forests have a marked effect on climate and on the maintenance of the water-supply. They hold together the fertile surface soil ; they store water and dole it out gradually, thus preventing disastrous floods. By checking erosion they prevent good soil from being washed into the rivers and carried away to waste. Forests also directly increase the fertility of the land, being capable of forming rich vegetable mould even from mineral soil. They also provide edible fruits and roots of which the poor readily avail themselves in India, especially in the time of famine³. An account must, therefore, be given, of what the Government did to protect the forests in the Panjab.

On the annexation of the Sikh kingdom the curious dislike felt by the early administration of Northern India to State property in the soil and

1. See Indian Irrigation Commission, 1902. J. Wilson, 62—65.

2. Nash, Vaughan, 1900, pp. 126—129.

3. Moral and Material Progress of India, 1924—25 p. 203.

their short-sighted indifference to forest conservancy were already giving way to sounder views. In accordance with the instructions of Dalhousie¹, the Board of Administration made arrangements for the preservation and economising of the tracts of forest and brushwood already existing. Further development of forests was also encouraged through various means. The Board trusted that if due arrangements were carried out for the cheap felling and transit of the prolific forests in the hilly regions, and for the preservation of the brushwood in the central plains², the country would not feel the want of either timber or firewood. The possibility of the exploitation of the forests as a source of State revenue was not then considered³. At different times rules and executive orders had been passed in order to protect the forests, but it was only in 1865 that the first Government Forest Act put them on the legal basis which was considered necessary by the developed legal conscience of the period. But the Act had certain defects, the worst of which was that it drew no distinction between the forests which required to be closely reserved, even at the cost of more or less interference with private rights, and those which merely needed general control to prevent improvident working. It was only in 1878 that a workable Forest Act was produced⁴, under which forests were broadly divided into two classes, "reserved" and "protected". In the Panjab, "reserved" forests included the great Himalyan tracts whence the supply of the more valuable timbers was obtained. Another class of reserved forests arose from the rapid denudation of the slopes of the Siwaliks. Under the Sikhs the Siwaliks had been covered with a low stunted brushwood and scattered trees which covered the sandy soil by its roots and by the grass which grew in their shade. The cool air from the shaded hillside arrested the passing clouds and produced a constant and almost regular rainfall, which, checked by the leaves of the brushwood and grass, poured down the hillside at a gentle pace, and, bringing with it all the soluble products of the decayed leaves and grass, spread its wealth-laden waters over the plains below, which thus became so renowned for their fertility as to be known as the garden of the Panjab. But when the hillsides were divided among the villages located on the hills, all this brushwood became common property open to everyone. Increasing wish for comfort and the demand for employment by the labourers freed from the forced labour, increased the demand for firewood of all sorts with the result that the

1. See also Chapter I.

2. Both of which abounded in the Panjab; see the Economic Resource Chapter.

3. L. A. M., 708 etc.

4. L. A. M., 724.

hillsides were in a few years stripped of everything that could by any possibility be used for that purpose. The new proprietors did little to protect their quasi-forests and the result was that the heated air of the dry sandy soil drove off the rain clouds which passed into the upper ranges. When owing to the increasing pressure of the clouds, rain at last fell, the condensation produced by its fall on the heated soil produced a great downward rush of the heavily laden upper air, and the rain then came in torrents. No longer arrested by leaves and brush-wood and grass, the increasing torrent poured rapidly down the sandy slopes, bearing with it thousands of tons of sand instead of the fertilising deposits of former days. For the first few years the effects were not apparent but gradually reports of deteriorated crops and distressed villages and tenants unable to pay their revenue replaced the uniformly prosperous reports of the former days. The deterioration spread and the injury was not confined to the agricultural peasantry alone. The increased volume of waters thus suddenly brought down soon carried away the bridges sufficient for former times, and necessitated the construction of further expensive bridges both on the Grand Trunk Road and the railway, and even those proved insufficient when the waters submerged the country far and wide. It was to prevent these evils that the submontane areas were declared "reserved" forests. In the case of the "protected" forests the Government control was exercised more particularly in the interest of the rightholders than for the general interests of the province as a whole. Under the Forest Act of 1878, forest settlement was carried out in 1888-89 as a result of which "reserved" and "protected" forests were demarcated¹.

(4)

THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

An account has been given above of the defective agricultural methods in the Panjab ; of the part played by the Government to improve them, to develop the irrigational facilities and to protect and develop the forests in the province. It is hardly necessary to say here after giving the above account, that the agriculture in the Panjab was still in a backward state. The agricultural problems were many sided and while not much could be done to solve them, some more were added to their list. Only a short reference to some more important of them will here be given.

1. see L. A. M., 722 to 749. Also Powell, i ; see also Chapter I of this book.

In Panjab, as in the rest of India, the agricultural population had for many centuries carried on cultivation according to traditional methods which were intimately bound up with the stereotyped social organization. There was little or no room for increased agricultural production along traditional lines, and it was extraordinarily difficult to introduce improved methods from the West to the typical small holdings, which (the small holdings) was the problem created under the British rule. The Government had been able to do little to check the evils of sub-division and fragmentation¹.

Agriculture was the biggest, the oldest and the most important industry in the Panjab and yet, it is unfortunate to note, that with a few honourable exceptions, it received little attention from the educated people, and this most important industry was thus only left at the mercy of the least intelligent and the uneducated².

The most discouraging fact in the history of agricultural improvements in the Panjab, however, is that although the population of the agriculturists always exceeded one half of the total population of the province, agriculture was the profession which was always degrading for a man of high caste to follow. The most industrious classes among the agriculturists were the Rainis, Sainis, Lubanas, and Jats. And next to them, ranked those of Syads, Pathans, Banjaras, Brahamans, Gujars, and Rangars, placed in the order of increasing slothfulness, while last and the worst was the Rajput. The latter considered ploughing an occupation beneath his dignity, and it was only necessity, that made him cultivate at all; he would never plough his land himself as long as he could get any Chamar, or a low caste man to do it for him. In border districts of the North West frontier where hill tribes prevailed, agriculture was generally at a discount. The Bilochi tribes were indolent; they sowed the seed and took little or no care of it, leaving it to the course of nature, to produce some how or other their yearly crop. It is obvious, therefore, that the production of a given area of land, not only depended upon the quality of the soil, the methods of sowing and other such things, but it also very much varied according to the class of people who cultivated it. In fact there were the problems arising out of a whole series of interconnected social institutions such as caste, the joint Hindu Family and the purdah system, which tended to perpetuate the existing lack of the "economic motive", and in many ways prevented the best

1. See Chapter XI.

2. W. W. P., 4.

use from being made of the adoption of scientific methods of cultivation¹.

Increase and concentration of an excessive population upon the soil, resulted in sub-division, indebtedness², and unemployment. It had indeed been alleged that there had been actual exhaustion of the soil, although it was established that on the whole a balance had been established, and that deterioration was not taking place³.

Still more, there was the difficulty of providing the cultivator with the capital necessary for the adoption of improved methods of cultivation⁴. There were other difficulties which included the difficulties experienced by a country largely dependent upon the monsoon, and hence subject to extreme seasonal fluctuations and uncertainty. The extension of the artificial irrigational facilities was rather a step towards the solution of this problem, but these facilities were yet too small⁵. The difficulties of spreading scientific knowledge (when it had been gained) amongst lakhs of illiterate cultivators who were deservedly renowned for their love of tradition was not small. And an average cultivator being poor at arithmetic, he hardly considered the interest factor. So much so that the actual net earnings from some plots of land might easily be less than the fair interest realizable upon the sale price so that the labour expended received no remuneration⁶. The Panjab Press had many suggestions to make in this respect and the one that was often forwarded was that the Panjab Government should send the educated Indians to England to study the subject, so that after getting the necessary knowledge they should come back and work among the peasants. But to work among the peasants was again a task too difficult for the modern educated man to face, and this was again a problem⁷.

A discouraging feature in the history of agriculture under the British rule was the increasing number of tenants⁸ in the Panjab which was acting adversely over it (the agriculture). These tenants generally took less care in preparing the land for crops, ploughed it less often, manured it less and used fewer implements upon it than the owners. They grew less valuable crops, especially avoiding those requiring the sinking of capital

1. See Chapters on the Social Life of the People.

2. See Indebtedness, etc., chapter XI.

3. See Chapter I.

4. See Land Improvement Loans, above.

5. See Irrigation, above.

6. P. P. W., 6.

7. See (original) Home—1884, Public, B, February, 172—173.

8. See Chapter XI.

in the land; they made little or no effort at improving their fields; they kept lower type of cattle; they avoided perennials and bestowed no care on trees. They showed a stronger disinclination than even small owners to have their children educated, and had not yet grasped the importance of organizing themselves for the more profitable conduct of their industry. The system of paying a proportion of the crop as rent (batai) accentuated¹ most of these tendencies and militated against a proper rotation of crops, yet this system was steadily supplanting cash rents².

All these were the problems which needed solution.

1. The batai system favoured extensive cultivation, i. e., the highest gross return. It discouraged intensive cultivation owing to the law of diminishing return.

2. P. P. W., 92—93.

The Industries and Arts

No account of the economic development of a country can be complete unless some reference is made to its industries. An account must, therefore, be given of all the important industries of the Panjab, as they existed under the British rule. But before doing that, it would be advisable to generalise here a few facts regarding them.

Under the Indian Factories Act, rules under which were promulgated in 1892 for the protection of the factory operators in the Panjab¹, only 152 factories were reported in 1901 which worked wholly or partly by steam power. And in the cotton-spinning, in the cotton-printing, weaving and other industries connected with cotton, out of 461,825 actual workers only 2,713 or .58 percent were employed in factories, thus showing how factory system was in the Panjab still in its infancy.

The causes of this slow progress of the factory-system were not difficult to understand. Under the old social system of the Panjab, every tract, and to a certain extent every village, was a self-contained economic unit, in which were produced the simple manufactures required by the community. All the needs of the great mass of the people except a few like salt etc. being thus fulfilled within the border of their respective locality or village, there had never arisen in this province any great industries. Foreign trade, necessarily confined to the few large towns, was limited to superfluous or luxuries, and such industries as existed were necessarily on a small scale. The few industries which supplied luxuries never became firmly rooted and succumbed at the first breath of competition. In the small towns, everywhere, one found the industries struggling for existence.

System of cash payment in the towns gave lesser inducement to the industrial development. The artisans and menials of the villages were all more or less servile and subject to the land holding tribes and were paid by a share of the produce of the soil, cash payment being probably a very late innovation in the 19th century. If the dominant tribe migrated

1. See Home., Judicial, Sept. to Dec. 1892, pp. 2709—2710.

its dependant castes went with it, a custom which could be seen even at the end of the 19th century, in operation in many cases in the Chenab Colony. Thus in the village, if the crop was short, everyone from the land-lord to the chuhra, received a diminished share, but smaller as the share might be it was always forthcoming, whereas in the towns the artisan was the first to suffer in times of scarcity, and if the scarcity was prolonged the urban industries were extinguished.

Moreover in every large scale industry, and especially in the cities, the system of advances which appeared to be as old as the industries themselves, precluded any attempt on the part of the operatives to improve their skill or efficiency, for increased earning would merely go to liquidate the '*bagi*'. It was small wonder if under this system several minor industries had decayed. '*Bagi*' was a debt, which an artisan owed to his master and which, when an artisan left one employer for another, the latter had to, by the custom of the trade, refund to the former and thus himself become the artisan's creditor¹.

The capital had as yet found more profitable, or a more tempting investment in exploiting the agriculturist than in developing the staple industries. Absence of technical skill, which could only be acquired by technical education and which, according to '*Civil and Military News*' in Panjab, was neglected by the Government, was another obstacle².

Although the importation of coal into the Panjab from the United Provinces (U. P.) and Bengal had steadily increased in weight during the last decade of the century while the price and freight charges were decidedly more favourable to the consumer in 1901 than at the beginning of the decade ; absence of local coal mines and the expence of fuel, was still a hinderance to the industrial development in the Panjab³.

There did not appear to be in Panjab any movement under which the great occupational castes were abandoning their hereditary function⁴, and inherent incapacity to combine for a common object, which the caste system gave, rendered the Joint-Stock Company System less successful than it otherwise could be. Thus the factory system could progress in the Panjab, but slowly⁵.

Yet, although the progress of the factory industry till 1901 was slow,

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1. A. R. 1901—02, pp. 118—119; Census 1901, pp. 367—369.
 2. Home, secret, N. P. R. Panjab, 1894, 490; A. R. 1901—02, 119.
 3. Report on the Material Progress of the Panjab, 1902, p. 2.
 4. Census 1901, p. 371.
 5. A. R. 1901—1902, p. 119.

at its face and at the face of the foreign competition, the tendency of the indigenous industries and arts in the Panjab was to decline and some of them did actually decline under the British rule. There was also a tendency to centralize the manufacture in the large towns although not much was accomplished in this respect by 1901¹, as it would be clear from the following account.

(1)

THE COTTON INDUSTRY

The Cotton Industry was the great domestic industry of the province, coarse cotton cloth being woven by hand in almost every village. The coarse country cloth was strongly woven. Finer qualities were also manufactured, but these included only long cloths and demasks, white or coloured, with woven patterns².

Muslin was made only in small quantities at Delhi and Rohtak, though it was reported in 1872 that the muslins of Dhaka had till very lately held the highest place in the markets of the West³. The long cloths, when checked and of thick material, were called khes, and when striped were termed susi, the latter being made of machine-spun yarn with sometimes a few silk threads in the warp. The lungi or pagri was a long strip of cloth worn by men round the head as a turban or as a band round the waist. Beautiful khes were made in the south-west and central Panjab. The gabruns of Ludhiana closely resembled similar goods made in Europe, and its lungis, imitation of those made in Peshawar, were famous. The lungis of Shahpur and Multan were more ornate. A special cloth made of a mixture of cotton and wool, called garbi loi, was woven in Gurdaspur district and exported all over India. The glazed fabrics of Jullundur, especially the diaper called ghati or bulbulchashm or 'nightingale's eye', were also famous. Cotton rugs, daris or shatranjis, were turned out at Lahore and Ambala. Cotton-pile carpets were made at Multan, but the productions towards the close of 19th century indicated that a crude scheme of colours had ruined the beauty of this manufacture. Cotton-printing was carried on in many parts of the Panjab, and the productions of Kot Kamalia, Sultanpur and Lahore were especially famous. The printing was done by hand by means of small wooden blocks. The fashion, however, having changed, their export to Europe and America was declining⁴.

1 Wilson Sir James, *Recent Economic Development 1910*, 41-42; see *Census 1901*, p. 370.

2 *Census 1881*, 396; *I. G. I. P.*, Vol. i, 314.

3 Watt, 1903, 288; *I. G. I. P.*, i, 314; Powell, ii, p. 14.

4 Latifi, 3-6; Powell, ii, 3; *I. G. I. P.* i, pp. 314-315.

At particular places and with regard to particular fabrics, cotton manufactures of Panjab had probably attained as high an excellence as was possible without the aid of intricate machinery. Yet this superiority was confined to a few fabrics, and to a few places¹.

In the returns of the census of 1881, weavers had been distinguished as weavers of coarse and weavers of fine fabrics. The former class numbered 329,107 men and 97,158 women. The latter numbered only 6,119 men and 325 women². Cotton-weaving in 1891, gave employment or support to 1,067,451 souls all told. But in 1901 their number was 914,797 or 14·3 per cent less than that of 1891; inspite of a remarkable increase in Jhang, and a substantial increase in the numbers returned in Muzaffargarh. The two great centres, Gujrat and Ludhiana, appeared to have suffered materially from the competition of imported piece-goods³.

Difficulties and hopes for the Industry. The manufactures were effected without any exception by handlooms of the simplest and rudest construction. The improved hand-looms under the British rule could not succeed as in most cases they were set up by persons who knew nothing about weaving themselves and were absolutely ignorant of the condition of the market. Almost all these factories failed as profit of the few looms naturally did not make up for the cost of supervision, and the machinery very soon got out of order⁴. The system under which the weaver used short warps prepared by himself, caused waste of material as well as loss of valuable time, even on the country loom. Sizing is a most important process on which the behaviour of the yarn on the loom largely depends, but there was no suitable "sizing" material devised for them in the Panjab⁵.

Much improvement was effected in jais by greater attention to the preparation and evenness of the thread, by the more regular working of the shuttle and the compacting together of the ends of the threads. But as a rule, the Panjabis were so attached to the custom of their family, that if a man should happen to be in a butcher's family, he would not leave the occupation. It was not often, therefore, that the excellent

1. Powell, ii, 14.

2. Monograph Cotton Manufacture, 1885, pp. 3-4. In 1870-71, the Report on Cotton Cultivation gave the figure as 7,00,000 people employed on cotton looms. But such figures available before 1881, were not much reliable.

3. Census 1901, 1362; A. R. 1901-1802, p. 117.

4. Latifi, 23; Powell, ii, p. 14.

5. *ibid*, 18-19.

weaving thus learnt in the jail was turned to account on the release of a prisoner¹.

Under the British rule, the local fabrics were slowly but surely giving place to the products of the British industry². Owing to the imperfections of the Panjab product, the weavers of the finer fabrics, such as susi, khes, or any cloth having a pattern in it, showed a decided preference for European yarn. Much thread was also being produced by Steam Spinning Mills in Bombay and other places in India, which was almost equal to the imported article and which began increasingly to be used³. European piece-goods, which were the superior construction of the textile fabrics produced by mechanical art began to be imported into Panjab to an enormous extent⁴. Members of an association, Arya Sabha, took a vow in 1879, at Lahore that they would use only Indian cloth and not English cloth⁵, but competition was growing and the great centres like Gujrat and Ludhiana suffered materially⁶.

In spite, however, of the difficulties stated above, the ancient craft showed vigour. Unequal duel between the hand-weaver and the power-loom which began in Panjab had not yet seriously effected the manufacture of country cloth, although such future possibilities were too strong to be neglected⁷.

The general belief that hand made cloths, though rougher in texture, were more lasting than the products of the mills; the fact that the ordinary pit-loom or khaddi could weave successfully any low grade yarn whereas power-loom as well as the fly shuttle required good yarns; there was no limit to designs the hand-loom weaver could produce and he was in a position to cater for special and limited markets, with which he was familiar, and where it would not pay the power-loom to compete; the hand-loom weaver, especially in a village, enjoyed the advantage that he lived in his own house, surrounded by his family and relatives, who helped him in his work, the weaver could easily pack up his loom to feast at the weddings or to weep at the funerals of his friends, he could often turn his hand to agriculture and earn a little spare cash by cutting the crops of his customers; the misfortune of the weaver to be tied to

1. Powell, ii, p. V.

2. Matheson-England to Delhi, 1870, 360—361.

3. Monograph Cotton Manufacture, 1885, 4.

4. *ibid*, 9; Matheson, 36.

5. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. R. etc., 1879, 330—331.

6. A. R., 1901—02, p. 117.

7. Census, 1901, p. 370.

his handicraft by the strong bonds of custom and be content even with low profits in his ancestral calling ; the stupidity and ignorance of the weaver which prevented him from thinking of a more profitable trade : all these were the causes that tended to keep this ancient craft alive¹, although the tendency for decline was there.

Power Industry. With the exception of the steam cotton gin at Multan, it was reported in 1885, there was not an establishment in the province that employed 20 hands². But by 1900 the number of the cotton-ginning factories (within the scope of the Factories Act) in Panjab had reached the figure 132, of which 76 were cotton ginning, cleansing, or pressing factories, and 5 were cotton spinning etc., mills³. Delhi Cloth and General Mills Ltd., Delhi, was established in 1889 ; Krishna Mills, Ltd., Delhi, in 1893 ; Jamna Mills, Delhi, in 1896 ; Hanuman and Mahadeva Mills, Delhi, in ; The Lahore Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., in 1898 ; Mela Ram Cotton Mills, Lahore, in 1897 and Amritsar Cotton Mills Company, Amritsar, in 1896⁴.

But the cotton mill industry of the province could not be described as flourishing. There were causes impeding its development. The locally grown cotton in the Panjab, with the exception of Peshawar had a very short staple, its maximum length being $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. The Panjab was out of the great cotton market. All the cotton of the Panjab was sent out of the province as soon as it was ginned and the local mills were compelled to keep large stocks of it for themselves. The Bombay mills, which could draw upon their local market all the year round, were under no such necessity. The province was, moreover, unfavourably situated as regards its fuel supply. There was a universal complaint of the shortage of skilled labour. And the founders of the mills in the Panjab left out of account the exceptional shortness of the staple of their cotton, and set up machinery really designed for the mills of Bombay and Nagpur, which used a greater length. The result was that the Panjab yarn was insufficiently twisted and weak, and hence only fit for the hand-loom⁵.

(2)

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES

The Panjab was the only province where the indigenous wool

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1. Latifi, 7 to 9.
 2. Monograph, Cotton, 8.
 3. Census 1901, pp. 369—370 ; A. R. 1901—1902, p. 118.
 4. D. G. Delhi, 1912, pp. 160; Latifi, 25.
 5. Latifi, 26—27.

industry was of any importance. The Hindus considered the material ceremonially pure, and had been acquainted with it from the remotest times, but its comparatively high cost and the fact that it was unsuitable to the climate during the greater part of the year always stood in the way of its popularity on the plains¹. The quantity and value of the woollen manufactures of the province, though not insignificant, could not for a moment be compared to the out-turn of cotton goods².

The important districts where sheep's wool was largely produced were Hissar, Ferozepur, Lahore, Shahpur, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Amritsar, Multan, Rawalpindi and Jhelum. Of the wool of the plains that of the Bar country was deemed better than that of the Thal. The finest wool was that of Hissar, and the western districts also produced a fair quality. Of the variety of staples, in the plains, black seemed to be almost as common as white; in the hills, and especially in Kangra and Kulu, sheep could be black, or white, or bluish-brown, or reddish-brown, or grey; while the staple varied in length from two inches in common breeds to six or even more in the case of certain hill breeds. Finest wool of the Panjab was inferior to the imported Australian wool³.

Goat's hair was chiefly produced in Multan, then Shahpur, Gujrat and also in Dera Ghazi Khan. Camel's hair was chiefly produced in Shahpur, Hissar and Dera Ghazi Khan.

Wool was also imported from Australia, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Tibet and Central Asia. Pashm was imported from Persia by sea, from Bokhara etc. via Kabul (known as Kabuli), from Kashmir and from Tibet and Ladakh and countries beyond. Wahab Shahi pashm was really only fine sheep's wool and not pashm at all. It came from Persia⁴.

The Woollen Products. Namda or felt was made out of unspun wool. The factory industry of carpet-making in the Panjab, owed its existence to the initiative of the jails. Carpet-making centred practically in Amritsar, the trade of which was chiefly with United States of America⁵. It developed to a great extent by 1898. An unexpected boom in 1900-01-02 inflated it to twice its volume in 1898. The result was over-production

1. Latifi, 44; Powell, ii, pp. VII to VIII.

2. Monograph Woollen Manufactures, 1886, p. 1.

3. Monograph Woollen Manufactures, 1; I. G. I. P., i, 79.

4. Monograph Woollen Manufactures, 1-2.

5. See carpet industry, following.

and much bad work, with the consequence that the demand subsided and the mushroom factories that had sprung into existence went to the wall¹.

Blankets made in Panjab were generally coarse and hard ; a finer kind of woollen wrapper called "lohi" was made in Sirsa and Fattahbad in the Hissar district and in Ludhiana².

Egerton Woollen Mills established at Dhariwal in 1882, was the only woollen mills in the province. The mills was situated on the Bari Doab and was worked by water-power, supplemented by steam during canal closures³. Its progress is shown by the following figures :—

	1890—1	1901
Number of looms	115	128
„ „ spindles	4,564	4,320
„ „ workers employed ...	620	820

The mills turned out broad cloth, blankets, great-coats, serges, flannels, tweeds, lois and shawls, travelling serges, knitting yarns, braids, Berlin wool, socks, caps, gloves and other kinds of knotted goods⁴. Army, Police and other departments were large purchasers of woollen goods. The enterprise was started with the express object of meeting the demands of Government, but to the anxiousness of the management in the beginning of the 20th century the official patronage was reduced almost to nothing⁵.

Manufactures of Pashm. Of greater interest, however, were the manufactures of pashm, the fine hair of the Tibetan goat⁶. The chief fabrics made were shawls, Rampur chadars, pashmina alwan (a fine white serge-like stuff), rumals and garbi chadars. The last-named became popular under the British rule. In it warp was of pashm and the woof of cotton⁷.

1. Monograph Woollen Manufactures, 7; Latifi, 55—88; Monograph (carpet). 4—7.

2. Powell, *ii*, 25 ; Monograph Woollen Manufactures, 8.

3. Latifi, p. 50 ; I. G. I. P. *i*, p. 34.

4. I. G. I. P., *i*, 84 ; I. G. I., Vol. xx, 319.

5. Latifi, 50.

6. I. G. I. P., *i*, 79.

7. Monograph (Woollen) 9.

The industry dated from early in the nineteenth century, when famine drove numbers of artisans from Kashmir to seek a home in the Panjab. Real Kashmir shawls continued to be made until the Franco-German War. The shawls of Amritsar and Gujrat were sold in London and in France in considerable numbers. The shawls of Amritsar especially were beautiful, noticed Colin Mackenzie in 1857. About the year 1850 the total yearly value of shawls exported from Amritsar to Europe was £85,000 to 100,000 sterling. In 1863 the value of the shawls from Amritsar sold in London was £226,279. But after the Franco-German war the demand ceased, and the manufacture of pashmina or piece goods from pashm was then confined to alwans or serges, curtains, and ordinary shawls¹.

The chief seats of artistic woollen manufacture were Ludhiana, Simla, Kangra proper, Amritsar, Gujrat and Lahore².

Products of the Goat's hair. Goat's hair was used in most districts for making ropes, nose-bags, sacking, jhuls for cattle, and matting for floors. In Peshawar a fine kind of goat's hair was worked into a pattu or cloth³. Spinning and weaving of goat's hair was done in practically the same way as in cotton. Ropes were made by hand twisting⁴.

Products of the Camel's hair. Camel's hair (milsee masul, mallas) was twisted by hand and not spun. It was mixed with goat's hair to make sacking, and with cotton (which was used for the warp) to make bhakla cloth (Hissar) ; but it was mostly used for rope-making⁵.

General Difficulties of the Industry. In the last decade of the 19th century, woollen industries showed a remarkable development in the districts favourably situated for the supply of wool. On the other hand this industry almost disappeared in most of the districts in which it was carried on on a small scale. The following figures of the persons employed

1. Powell, *ii*, 44 : I. G. I. P., *i*, 79 : Colin Mackenzie (Delhi) 1857, 192 : see also Internal Trade Report Panjab for the year ending 31st March 1883, Appendix B (Ludhiana Report on Pashmina Trade) which says—*khillats* and robes of honour bestowed by British Government on chiefs and gentlemen consisted chiefly of superior Pashmina ; but since the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 in Delhi, the custom of giving such *khillats* had been dropped.

2. Powell, *ii*, 41 to 44, I. G. I. P., *i*, 79 : Monograph (Woollen), 9 : Powell, *ii*, 41—44 ; I. G. I. P., *i*, p. 79.

3. Monograph (Woollen), 11 : Powell, *ii*, p. VIII.

4. Monograph (Woollen), 11.

5. *ibid*, 11 : Latifi, 65 : Powell, *ii*, p. VIII.

in the industry in various districts, throw light¹.

District	1901	1891
Amritsar.....	10,074	5,522
Gurdaspur.....	4,388	3,310
Delhi.....	614	992
Karnal.....	1,274	1,929
Ambala.....	158	1,062
Jullundur.....	72	331
Jhelum.....	929	1,216
Hozara.....	1,094	1,688

The difficulties which the industry had to face, were many sided. Few efforts were made under the British rule to improve stock. Excluding Kangra and Kulu sheep, the annual yield could not exceed one seer per sheep, and the quality also was inferior, while average English sheep certainly gave as much as five pounds and some breeds gave seven and even eight pounds. Wool sorting in the Panjab was done in a very primitive manner. The combs used were also primitive instruments as in cotton.

There was no standardization of colours in the carpets of Amritsar² and the habit of adulteration of woollen fabrics for the purpose of deceiving customers was very much prevalent in all those manufactures that were intended for sale. Besides the passing off of wool as pashm ; in shawls, chadars and carpets transient colours were used where fast ones were indispensable. In several districts where cotton was cheap, that material was mixed with wool, and white chadars that would not bleach properly or that were flimsy were loaded with various white powders to conceal the defects. Such nefarious practices were used even in the case of blankets of only medium cost-lines³.

18. A. R. 1901-1902, 117.

19. Latifi, 61.

20. Monograph (Woollen), 12.

European yarn and European piece-goods did not have much effect on the Panjabi shawl-weaving industry and the manufacture of blanket and pattu¹. But although the output of jails was comparatively very small², some of the papers in the Panjab were much against the Jail factories with which the private enterprise, according to them, could not compete³.

(3)

THE SILK INDUSTRY

Silk Producing. Silk producing could be divided into two main classes, mulberry fed, or domesticated, which corresponded with entomological classification of silkworms known as Bombycidae. The second was non-mulberry fed silkworms or known as "wild", entomologically Saturniidae.

While the Panjab was entirely deficient in the "wild" silkworm which were commonly recognized as those of chief economic value, there were eight different Saturniidae found in the Panjab.

Of the seventeen varieties of Bombycidae found in India, Panjab had only three species, viz. *Ocinara lactea*, *O. Moorei* (both found in Kulu, but neither of any value) and the *Theophila Kuttoni*, found in Simla by Captain Hutton in 1837. Of imported worms two, the *Bombyx Croesi*, "the hot weather Band" and the *Bombyx Mori*, the Chinese mulberry silkworm, were at various times domesticated in the Panjab. It was in connection with the domestication of this variety that the most consistent efforts had been made in the Panjab⁴.

The essential things for the successful sericulture are (1) favourable soil and climate for the growth of mulberry leaves (2) favourable climate for the health and growth of worms (3) fresh leaves in sufficient quantities for the worms and (4) sufficient space, light and ventilation for the growth of the worms and maintenance of their health.

The last two conditions were dependent on the knowledge and goodwill of the rearers, while the first two existed in Kangra, Gurdaspur and certain other places⁵. It was thus not only possible to rear Silk

1. *ibid*, 2—9: I. G. I. P., i, 84.

2. Latifi, 61.

3. Home, Secret, N. P. R., 1894 (Civil & Military News dated 17th Oct.), 490.

4. Journal of Indian Art Nos. 81—88, 1904, 18; Monograph on the Silk Industry, 1899; 1—2.

5. Revenue & Agri., Fibres & Silk, 1885, Jany, 18/20, B.

worm in the province, but it could be done with advantage and profit¹.

The worms when first hatched required plenty of young mulberry leaves. The country mulberry did not put forth young leaves till some 15 days after the eggs first disclosed. To remedy this, the China and Phillipine varieties of the mulberry, which came into leaf earlier, were imported in the Panjab².

But at no time did the cultivation of silkworm seem to have been carried on systematically by the Panjabis. Lister & Co. tried to improve their methods and exhibitions were also held for the purpose. But failure of the Lister & Co. was reported in 1885 as the Panjabis persisted in their old habits of rearing more worms than they had the space for, with the result that many of them died of suffocation while others were weakened in the struggle for existence as the supply of leaf was also insufficient and inferior and there was no proper arrangement of light and fresh air³.

At various times, the Government and the capitalists in Panjab, had attempted to domesticate the *Bombyx* themselves in various places like the low hills of Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. Experiments had always held out fair promise of success at the start ; but they always ended more or less disastrously⁴.

The above remarks refer entirely to the domesticated silk worms. Experiments were made by Mr. Coldstream, as Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur, in domesticating the tasar (*antheraea siwalika*). He reported some success in 1884⁵, but with his transfer from the place the experiment was closed. Listers of Madhopur also made some experiments, but their results were not anywhere recorded⁶.

Silk Manufacture. While sericulture, therefore, could not be said to exist as an industry in the Panjab, there was, on the other hand a manufacture of some importance carried on in the province⁷. As sufficient

1. Journal of Agri. Horti. Society of India, Vol. 12, 1861—62, 129; see also p. 286—a letter from Financial Commissioner Panjab to the Secy. to Govt. Panjab, No. 307, dated 30th May. 1852.

2. *ibid*, 136—137 : Monograph Silk, 1887, 1.

3. Rev. & Agri. Fibers & Silk, 1885, Jany, 18/20, B : Rev. & Agri, Fibres & Silk, 1884, Jany, 33—34, B.

4. Monograph Silk 1899, 12 : Monograph Silk, 1885—86, 1; for Silk industry see also D. G. Hoshiarpur, 1904, 135—138, where Monograph Silk 1899 is quoted.

5. Monograph (Silk), 1885—86, p. 2.

6. Monograph (Silk), 1899.

7. *ibid*, 12.

quantity of raw silk was not produced to meet the requirements, it was imported into the Panjab principally from three sources (1) from Bengal, (2) from China by Bombay and (3) from Yarkand¹.

There were four distinct operations included in the term manufacture, and there were but few places, under the British rule, at which all the four operations were carried on. Probably Amritsar was the only place in the province at which much reeling was done. Silk was prepared for the loom at Peshawar, Kohat, Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, and Delhi. It was dyed at the same places, and in addition at Sialkot, Shahpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang and Rohtak. The silk, prepared and dyed, was woven in some form or other in most districts of the province, with a few exceptions. It was probably used for embroidery in every district of the Panjab².

Articles manufactured could be divided into three classes: woven fabrics of pure silk, woven fabrics of silk and cotton, and netted fabrics of silk or silk and cotton, of which the second were being turned out in largely increasing quantities. Turbans and waistbands (lungis) of cotton cloth with silk border woven on them were also very largely made. Netted silk was made in the form of fringes, tassels, girdles and pajama strings etc. Pure silk dupattas, langhas or shalwars of daryai, gulbadan or kanawez were doubtless worn far less under the British rule than before³.

Silk cloth of the Panjab was very thick and close, and strong, and quite free from the gloss of the fraudulently sized European silk, for which the people of India had the utmost contempt⁴.

The Decline. Silk manufacture had been for ages carried on in the Panjab⁵. The Silk fabrics of Multan had been long known in Hindustan. Consumption in the Sikh capital, by the well dressed court of Ranjit Singh, gave ample and profitable employment to the numerous local weavers and engrossed the whole of their labour⁶. But undoubtedly, the silk industry declined after the establishment of the British rule. Silk fabrics were much less worn by the well-to-do classes than they were

1. see Monograph (Silk), 1887, p. 2.

2. Monograph (Silk). 1887, p. 6; Journal of Agri. Horti Society of India, Vol. X, 1857-59, 117; I. G. I. P., i, 79; Monograph (Silk), 1899, pp. 15-16.

3. Monograph Silk, 1899, p. 21; Monograph Silk, 1887 p. 5; I. G. I. P. Vol. I, pp. 79-80.

4. Birdwood, George C. M., (Industrial Arts in India), 1880, pp. 273-274.

5. Powell, Vol. ii, p. VIII.

6. Journal of Agri. Horti. Society of India, vol. x, 1857-59, p. 117-118.

in Sikh times; European broad-cloth and cotton goods having to a large extent taken their place. Fruits of experiments made by individual Europeans in sericulture were lost to the Panjabis through indifference and want of energy and enterprise on their part. Silk industry, by which is meant technique of winding and twisting threads, degenerated. As the old workman died out and new and less expensive methods and inferior workmanship took the place of the old, the art was lost never to be renewed¹.

(4)

THE CARPET INDUSTRY

The carpets woven in the Panjab were of two kinds, the pile carpet, generally composed of a woollen pile on a foundation of cotton, and the dari, or satrangi, a pileless cotton fabric.

At Ambala there was made, in addition to the common one, a type of dari called 'dolra', or when of somewhat finer quality 'Jijam'. It was of very coarse old cotton neither fine nor durable.

The Dari Industry. Dari industry was of small importance in the Panjab. Dari was made in Delhi, Multan, Karnal, Ambala, Rohtak, Hoshiarpur and in Bahawalpur State. Persons employed in the industry all belonged to the lower classes of the population, and it was probable that none earned more than a scanty if not precarious livelihood. Outside the Jails the industry was entirely an organised one. It could be described neither as urban nor rural. The industry had no artistic interest. The Panjab dari was quite unattractive. The designs consisted for the most part only of blue and white stripes or of stripes of red, blue or black².

Pile Carpets. The pile carpet industry, however, needs a special attention. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the industry showed little permanent root in Panjab except in Multan and Bahawalpur and in any case it was of very little importance. London exhibition of 1851, for the first time, drew the attention of the European market towards Indian carpet. Panjab itself, however, was unaffected by the new impulse for many years. Weaving of carpet had been introduced in some of the Panjab Jails before 1862 and an exhibition of that year made Panjab known outside its borders, and then only by the production of Lahore jail. By 1864 the jail industry had further developed and carpets

1. Monograph Silk, 1887, pp. 1, 6; Powell vol. ii, 1872, pp. VIII-IX.

2. See Monograph (Woollen), p. 7.

were now made in Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan. Delhi jail, Industrial school of Kasur, Hoshiarpur and Dera Ghazi Khan were noted as manufacturing carpets in 1883. Before 1883, however, the industry had established itself in Amritsar, which later became headquarters of the industry in the Panjab.

In 1840 a severe famine had forced some Kashmir weavers to migrate from Kashmir to Ludhiana and Amritsar in large numbers and it was they who started the industry in Amritsar between 1870 and 1880. Their progress was, however, slow and it was only by the year 1890¹ that they began to absorb the export trade which was carried on by jail industry. It was the jails, however, that had themselves given to their competitors the means to them, as in 1887, Devi Sahai Chamba Mal, the oldest of the Amritsar firms, was permitted to inspect the Lahore jail factory and after that they obtained the services of Mr. Blake, the retired Deputy Superintendent of the Lahore Central Jail, to supervise their factory. In 1893, the exhibition of Indian carpets in Chicago opened fresh market for Amritsar industry in America. In the year 1897-98, the figures for carpets and rugs, known for the first time, showed export worth Rs. 310,275 and inter-provincial trade worth Rs. 77,050. In 1900-1901 the figures for export had reached Rs. 1,000,425 and many new factories were established.

After that, however, we find, there was a fall. Increased demand led to over production and much bad work, with the consequence that the demand subsided and the mushroom factories that had sprung into existence went to the wall².

Pile carpet industry in Multan declined owing to the competition of Amritsar³. It was introduced in the Bahawalpur jail in 1878, outside the jail too, it was manufactured. But the outside weavers gave it up towards the close of 19th century. Besides Amritsar, the pile carpet was manufactured to a small extent in Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Hissar district, Gujrat, Montgomery, Lohare, Gurgaon and Hoshiarpur⁴. In Kohat and Bannu and one or two other places along the North-West frontier a peculiar form of rug was made that was called *nakhai*⁵.

The materials used in the manufacture of pile carpets were cotton,

1. See Monograph (Woollen), p. 7, carpets were yet chiefly made in jails.
2. See above; Monograph Carpet 1905—06, pp. 4 to 7; Latifi pp. 55—58; I.G.I.P. vol. i. p. 79; Watt 1903 (Indian art at Delhi).
3. Watt, p. 433; I. G. I. P., Vol. i, p. 80.
4. Monograph carpet, 1905—06, p. 6; Watt, pp. 430—433.
5. Watt, R. p. 334.

wool, pashmina, ak floss, silk and hemp, exclusive of the various products used in dyeing¹.

Bulk of the carpets made were for export and were therefore of a size to suit European and American needs. Such carpets were known as kalin or ghalicha. "Asans", small rugs generally square, were made for local people to sit upon. Garbi kalin, also a small rug of mixed woollen and cotton pile, was chiefly exported to Sind².

In the Delhi jail there was a list of some seventy shades which could be produced by combination of the dyeing substances. Punjab carpet at its best was a creditable production, its materials were good, its dyes were fast, its designs appropriate and its workmanship such that it would wear for generations. At its worst, however, it was none of these things. But even at its best it was a trade product and not a work of art. There was to be found in it nothing of the individuality of the weaver, nothing that could tell us of his daily life. The designs employed were either the copies of Persian originals or non-descript composition, containing elements the most diverse, thrown together to suit the exigencies of fashion in Europe or America. It was only in Multan and Dera Gazi Khan district that there existed anything like individual or local treatment. Introduction of the fast aniline dyes was also an evil though perhaps not an unmixed one. It may, however, be said that if it was not an original masterpiece, the Panjab carpet was often a very respectable copy, and if it was not a work of art it could at least be an honest and durable piece of merchandise³.

(5)

EMBROIDERY

It seems indubitable that wherever the stalwart Jat tribes of the south-eastern plains came from, with them came the original phulkari (flower-work) workers; for the art almost unchanged lingered still in its best form among the peasants of Rohtak, Hissar Gurgaon and Delhi⁴; although embroidery with silk thread was carried on in most of the other districts of Panjab. At some places, from Peshawar to Lahore and Amritsar a curious embroidery of glass silk upon cotton, which was produced by the insertion of circular pieces of looking-glass within the design, called

1. Monograph Carpet, 1905—06, p. 8.

2. *ibid*, p. 5.

3. Monograph Carpet, pp. 10, 18—20; see also Watt, p. 430.

4. Watt, 1903, p. 374.

Shishadar phulkari, was very widespread¹. From purely a domestic one the industry grew into a considerable trade under the British rule, large numbers being exported to Europe for table-covers, and hangings. Delhi remained the centre of the trade in embroideries, in which gold and silk wires, as well as silk thread, was largely used on silk, satin and velvet².

The perception of colour among the embroidery-workers, appeared purely intuitive; they had an empiric knowledge of what the elementary colours were, and knew that setting one beside its complementary threw out both to the greatest effect. The elegance of pattern of these embroideries as also in the woven shawls, was scarcely less remarkable than the selection and arrangement of colours. Their knowledge of the principles of colouring, however, did not seem to be fully developed and not seldom did it happen that their colour degenerated into glare³.

Under the British rule, the fashion of wearing European silks and satins for chogas and robes became so prevalent that by 1872, Kimkhab, or silk cloth with patterns woven in gold wire, seemed to have been driven out. But Such embroidery as came into use for ornamental caps, shoes, belts, elephant trapping and the like, besides table-covers and similar articles of the European use, was rather spreading⁴. The colours had all been changed and in place of the rich golden yellow on an Indian red field, picked out with white or occasionally with specks of green; or a dark indigo blue field with purple embroidery; the field in modern goods was a black blue or scarlet, mostly woollen textile and the embroidery was in green, red and purple, offensive, staring ugly, aniline cheap dyes, which were fast deriving out the indigenous dye-stuffs. The patterns began to be furnished to the Panjab worker by European traders and it paid him to make such stuff without applying his own reason and imagination on them⁵.

(6)

THE FIBROUS MANUFACTURES

Panjab possessed a number of plants which yielded excellent fibre for purposes of paper making, textile, fabrics, matting and cordage. But the actual uses to which fabrics were put in the Panjab were confined chiefly to the manufacture by the zamidars themselves of a variety of

1. *Journal of Indian Arts*, April 1885, No. 6, p. 47 ; Watt, p. 376.

2. Powell, *ii*, p. IX, 156 ; I. G. i. P., *i*, p. 80.

3. Powell, *II*, 1872, p. XIII.

4. *Ibid*, 156, 97 ; I. G. I. P., *i*, 80 ; D. G. Delhi, 1912, pp. 152—155.

5. Watt, 376.

agricultural and domestic articles, which rarely commanded any extensive sale among out-siders. The only exceptions to this were the weaving of a coarse *tat* from *san*, which was made up into gunny-bags, and the application of a few fibres, principally *san* in its manufactured state, to paper making. In no case did any class of people obtain a living by it. Among those castes which were more especially employed in fibrous manufactures such as Jinwars, Lubanas and Mussalis, no worker could support himself solely on his earnings¹.

Papier Machie and Paper Making. In 1864, papier machie was noticed to be almost peculiar to Kashmir. A few Kashmiri artists, who wandered from time to time brought the knowledge of their art at various centres in the Panjab. But the little papier machie that was made in the province was the work of isolated artisans who produced it on special occasions and not as a regular industry, as in Gujranwala and Lahore. It was all on a small scale and possessed no commercial value².

"There is not a country on the surface of the globe", it was reported in 1872, "which is more adopted, from the nature and variety of its indigenous, as well as cultivated plants, to supply an almost infinite quantity of raw material for the manufacture of textile fabrics, of great diversity and commercial value, and from the refuse of which alone we have the means of manufacturing paper. Besides there are innumerable fibres which, from their coarseness and shortness of staple, are unsuited for weaving purposes but still are eminently useful for the purpose of paper making³." But history of the paper industry in Panjab under the British rule is simply a history of the failure to make the best use of these facilities.

The date of paper in the Panjab may be fixed sometime between the 10th and 11th centuries A.D., or contemporaneous with the invasion of India by the Muslims⁴. The industry had only 20 factories with a sale of Rs. 25,000 during the Sikh rule, but under the British rule it increased and in 1855 there were 83 factories yielding an income of about Rs. 60,000.

In 1881-1882, the total annual output of the 14 districts, Sialkot, Lahore, Delhi, Multan, Ludhiana, Gujranwala, Jhang, Montgomery, Ambala, Hissar, Ferozepore, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Gujrat, was valued at Rs. 142,380.

1. Monograph (Fibrous), 1891, P. 1 ; Powell, vol. ii. 1872, p. 74.

2. Monograph Paper, p. 1.

3. Powell, ii, 92.

4. *ibid*, 91.

Two causes combined together after this to practically put an end to the industry in all districts where it was not firmly established and to cripple it even in its chief centres. These were the general extension of paper making in the jails of the province and the establishment in India of paper mills on a large scale¹.

Paper making which had always been one of the chief manufactures in the Government jails, was taken up very seriously by 1870. Various encouragements were given and various improvements were made for the developments of the industry in jail, which had a bad effect on the outside industry in the Panjab.

About 1880, paper mills worked on western lines, began to be opened at various large centres such as Lucknow, Gwalior and Calcutta. Their number increased and the deterioration of the indigenous industry was so rapid that any account of paper making, as it existed in the 20th century, could be only in the nature of memorial of its vanished greatness².

But the greater regret was that the industry had been to a great extent replaced by the jail manufactures, which proceeded on equally primitive lines and produced little better paper³.

The material used for paper making could be divided into two large classes, namely (1) raw materials, and (2) textiles of all kinds. Panjab was rich in fibres but the Panjabis had done little in way of exploiting these resources. Nor did the experiments made with different fibres in the different jails, prove successful. The implements most suitable for jail labour were not such as would work up the fibre of each and every raw material into a proper pulp, and consequently all others had been practically abandoned in favour of hemp fibre, whilst outside the jails the only other raw materials used to any extent were the inner barks of certain species of the *Daphne* and *Desmodium* plants. Of the textile goods, the most used were *tat* and waste paper. The former comprised ropes, mats, and gunny bags etc⁴. The non-utilization of rags, was an interesting fact. Discarded rags were almost non-existent in a country where no tatter was too disreputable to find some wearer or other. Moreover the caste prejudices also had their part to play. Whilst they prevented the Hindus from adopting the Far Eastern methods of

1. Monograph Paper, 5—6 ; Monograph Fibrous, 1891, p. 16 ; Latifi, 84.

2. Monograph Paper, 6 ; Monograph Fibrous, 16—17 ; I. G. I. P., i, 83.

3. Monograph Paper, 22.

4. *ibid*, 9—11 ; Monograph (Fibrous), 19 ; Powell, ii, 95.

manufacture from waste rags, they still permitted them to copy the Chinese and Japanese process by which paper was made from the inner bark of trees¹.

(7)

WOOD MANUFACTURES

There was no lack of the raw material for wood manufactures in the Panjab. Hilly regions abounded in prolific forests, and its central plains were overgrown with brushwood. But to this remark an exception must be made in the case of walnut, which in 1889 was declared not only to be scarce, but often not to be had².

The wood manufactures of Panjab, which make an interesting study, may be discussed under the following headings.

Wood Carving. There were in the province four great types with numerous local manifestations under each. These could be spoken of as the wood-work of the plains, produced by Mohammedans, Sikhs or Hindus, and that of the hills, turned out by aboriginal tribes controlled for the most part by what was spoken of as "Tree and Serpent Worship", or still further to the north by the Buddhism of Tibet and China³.

Of the wide range of work met with, the distinguished feature was their Mohammedan character⁴. Examples of the Hindu work were to be seen principally in large towns, particularly at Lahore. The forms used were fantastic, tassel shaped, pendants and bosses being predominant; but the style, except for a little revival under the British rule, could be said to be extinct⁵. With the Mohammedans came the development of lattice-work or pinjra. The essential characteristics of their style were flatness of relief, absence of undercutting and the free use of geometrical diapers incised in line merely in relief or in framed lattice work. The Sikhs were making a beginning toward a free Hindu modification of Mohammedan motives in architecture and decoration, and had already accomplished something when they were overtaken by the English occupation. Their wood carving had a character of its own, their foliage was elaborately lined and twisted, and small and grotesque figures, human and animal, inadmissible in Muslim work, were beginning to appear⁶.

1. Monograph (Paper), 11, 17.

2. Monograph (Wood Manufactures), 1889; see also the first chapter.

3. Watt, 1903, p. 102.

4. Monograph (W. M.), 7.

5. I. G. I. P., i, 22.

6. Journal of Indian Art, Oct. 1884, No. 4, p. 1.

Wood-carving as an indigenous art was almost entirely architectural, but devoted to doors and doorways, balconies and bow windows. Towards the close of the century, however, European demand led to this handicraft being largely applied to small articles of decorative furniture¹.

In 1864, the wood carvers of Bhera, Chiniot and Bhiwani were unknown, but in 1882, things of utmost refinement and natural skill all in purely Panjabi style, were exhibited from the three places². In 1889 it was reported that wood-carving was carried on in every district, and every large town had its master craftsmen. Bhera, Amritsar, Batala, Chiniot, Hoshiarpur, Hissar, Gujrat, Hariana, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Peshawar and Udaki, developed provincial reputation³.

Ordinarily, Panjab wood-work, at best, was spoiled by certain want of finish. There was a tendency to leave the work crooked in line and unfinished in joints⁴. But Mr. Powell wrote in 1872, "it was surprising what creditable results they arrived at with the use of the coarsest and simplest of implements." There was an improvement in the methods under the European supervision and the School of Art at Lahore was guiding not only the works in Lahore but throughout the province. But this at the same time drew out of the head of the worker those ideas on the realization of which lay the excellence of his former work⁵. Local demand for work of high quality was diminishing, but the European market with the opening of Railways was yearly becoming more accessible. The remuneration of the worker, however, would be incommensurate with the labour expended, in any country but this, reported Mr. Powell in 1872. The rate of wages was increased under the British rule, but the price of wheat increased almost in proportion, so that the average carpenter's position was little better than it was before the British rule⁶.

Inlaid Work. The inlaid-work was also of Mohammedan origin, and was probably introduced from Arabia. The chief centres were Hoshiarpur and Jullundur (with Simla as a summer resort), where ivory or bone and also brass were inlaid on shisham; and Chiniot, where brass alone was used⁷.

1. Monograph (W. M.), 7; I. G. I. P., i, 82.

2. A. R. 1882—83, p. 163.

3. Watt, 1903, p. 103; Monograph (W. M.) 9, 7; I. G. I. P., i, 82.

4. Journal of Indian Art, Jany. 1885, No. 5, pp. 37—39.

5. Monograph (W. M.), 5; Watt, 108.

6. Powell, 208; Monograph (W. M.), 5—6.

7. Watt, 141.

The wood inlay-work of Hoshiarpur, which was of ancient date had a high local reputation, and was capable of considerable development. For many years pen-cases, and the low chauki, or octagonal table, common in the Panjab and probably of Arab introduction, had been made here in shisham wood, inlaid with ivory and brass. From 1880, due to the efforts of Mr. Coldstream, C. S., its application to tables, cabinets, and other articles of European use, was procured and a trade sprang up which seemed likely to expand. The fault of the inlay was a certain triviality and insignificance of design, and its too equal and minute distribution together with an inherent tendency to the cheap but nasty. The ivory used was generally the waste stuff left by the turners of ivory bangles¹. Hoshiarpur trade, however, received a great stimulus from Anglo-Indian residents and travellers and its products began to be exported to America, England and the Continent, as there was some improvement in designs and specimens, towards the close of the 19th century².

The art of inlaying with brass in Chiniot was bolder, freer and better in design than the inlaying of Hoshiarpur or Jullundur and the contrast of the metal with the dark wood used in Chiniot was distinctly superior to that with the wood employed in Hoshiarpur³. Here the strips of brass were not, strictly speaking, inlaid, but rather laid on, and were retained in their place by the nails. The slightest warp in the wood was fatal to the effect, for the brass at once bulged up, and was not readily smoothed down again. The designs were strictly Mohammedan type, and had less originality than the floral combinations invented by the Hindu carpenters of Mainpuri, North-Western Province (U. P.)⁴. In the closing years of the century, however, the work rose to a higher order, in the hands of one Muhammad Hussain⁵.

Painted wood-work. Kamangar's art of painting bows and arrows which was often extremely beautiful, was fast becoming a thing of the past. There was no longer a demand for the bow and the quiver, on the decoration of which he used to exhaust the resources of his art. Muzzafargarh in the Panjab was famed for the work. Small articles of domestic use e.g. pen boxes and trays, etc. were, however, made commonly throughout the province, the chief centres being Delhi, Lahore and Jullundur⁶.

1. D. G. Hoshiarpur, 1904, p. 143 ; Monograph (W. M.), 15 ; Watt, 142—143.

2. See also Selection from Records, New Series, No. XXII, 1883, 44 ; Monograph (Ivory Carving), 1900, p. 3.

3. Watt, 145 ; Monograph (Ivory carving), 3.

4. Monograph (W. M.), 9, 16.

5. Watt, 145.

6. Watt, 162 ; Monograph (W. M.), 13—14.

Lacquer-work, Turnery. Turned wood ornamented with lac in various combinations of colour was produced in almost every village. Sahiwal (Shahpur district), Dera Ismail Khan, Pakpattan (Montgomery), Ferozepore, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, were reported in 1889 to be the centres of the trade¹. Pakpattan had more than a local reputation for this work². Chief articles manufactured were : bridal chair, *pira*, *piri*, *bed* legs, walking sticks, wheels, toys, boxes, chess-boards and table plates, ornamental vessels, *surahi*, *guldan*, *kharbuza* and cigar-cases³.

The lacquerd work had a fine polish and generally a marked or mottled appearance, often in two or three colours, and the article finished with a flowered border, which latter was done by a species of handiwork different from the rest, and certainly affording a good instance of the delicacy of Panjabi handling⁴.

Furniture. Furniture in an ordinary Panjabi house was simple in extreme, consisting only of a bed, a low with high-back chair (*pira*) and a stool. Under the British rule, furniture after the European pattern began to be made in every district station and in every cantonment. Given a pattern, a very fair imitation could be turned out. Chairs, small tables and almirahs etc., were done well, but large tables were seldom well finished. The best known centres of trade were Gujrat and Kartarpur in the Jullundur district. The Gujrat work was more popular. Other centres were Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot, Hoshiarpur and Simla⁵.

Miscellaneous articles produced. Besides the small agricultural implements, the village carpenter was also able to make special machines like rice husking machine, Belna (sugar-cane), Kapas Belna (cotton-cleaning), Kohlu (oil-crushing), Persian wheels, Jhallars and Dhingli. In the case of sugar-cane machines, the attempts to introduce a superior type of machine proved a commercial success.

Carts were turned out everywhere; ekkas at Amritsar and Jandiala, and also in many other large towns. In Delhi, raths were largely turned out, there being a considerable demand for them among Hindus on ceremonial occasions. European forms of carriages were coming in vogue, but they were made coarsely, even if elegant in shape, were always found.

1. Monograph (W. M.), 10—12.

2. I. G. I. P., i, 82 ; Powell, ii, 211.

3. Monograph (W. M.), 13.

4. Powell, ii, 211.

5. Monograph (W. M.), 14—15 , Powell, ii, 203.

wanting in finish. The country cart too was clumsy, but very well adopted to the style of travelling.

Boat-building, which was so important an industry in former years when one of the principal means of communication was by water, rapidly declined after the extension of railways. Panjabi boats, as a rule, were clumsy in construction and primitive in all their details. Boats after the European fashion began to be made at Jhelam, but the workmanship was rough and the cost great.

The musical instruments were made by a special class of artisans. They were generally few in each district as reported in 1889, driving a desultory trade, and only making the instruments to order. The variety of instruments made was considerable. Many types of stringed instruments, wind instruments and drums were made.

Comb-making was carried on in Amritsar, Lahore, Dera Ghazi Khan and Shahpur. In Amritsar the trade was particularly brisk. Basket-making was scattered and a struggling industry, occupying a large number of the menial classes, not regularly or permanently, but helping them in a desultory way to eke out a subsistence. In the Simla Bazar, it was carried on as a regular profession. Pipe-stems were made in every town, and so were the walking sticks. But best of the latter was made at Bhera, Pakpattan, Hoshiarpur and Amritsar. The industry of cricketing apparatus was rapidly growing. The most important centre was Sialkot, the less important being Amritsar, Gujrat and Rawalpindi. Saddles of English pattern were displacing the Panjabi saddles which were made in every district. The manufacture of camel saddles was carried to a greater elaboration in Jhang and Derajat¹.

On the whole the Panjab wood-worker was skilful and ingenuous, but he was a poor joiner. His remuneration was hardly sufficient for his needs. His tools were primitive and there was no organization at all for introducing improved tools and machinery among the artisans, in Panjab².

Ivory Carving³. The places where ivory carving was done were numerous, but the only respectable work came from Delhi and Amritsar and in the Indian state of Patiala⁴, other centres being Ludhiana,

1. Monograph (W. M.), 16—206; Powell, *ii*, 246—279; Latifi, 424.

2. Latifi. pp. 217—220.

3. For ivory carving see also D. G. Hoshiarpur, 1904, pp. 147—149 where Monograph (Ivory Carving), 1900, is quoted.

4. Monograph (Ivory Carving), 1900, 1; Powell, *ii*, p. 214.

Gujranwala, Hoshiarpur and Lahore.

In Delhi and Amritsar the industry appeared to have originated with the requirements of the grandees of the Mohammedan court and subsequently with those at the Sikh court. Mohammedan feeling of the older Delhi work was its most striking peculiarity. The modern work had absorbed all styles and had become mainly Hindu. It consisted of a rich flat arabesque tracery with lace-like perforations arcading mythological or animal panels. In former times the articles usually produced were bed posts, chauris, surmedanis and bangles, etc. With the Sikhs on the other hand the use of a comb, to be worn in the hair, became almost a matter of faith, and as the Sikhs were not restrained from life portraiture, to them very possibly may have to be attributed the introduction of relief work and statuary. It was, however, somewhat remarkable that the chief artistic workers reported in 1903, were Hindus¹.

The ivory used was drawn from three sources, viz., Africa, Burma and India itself. Burmese ivory did not seem to be used to any appreciable extent in the Panjab, and Indian ivory was at a discount. In comparison with the African article the latter was inferior, the reason being probably partly the surrounding of the animals, domestication and unsuitable food causing deteriorations, partly climate and most of all an inferiority in breed².

The characteristics of the work could be roughly divided into figure or model carving, perforation and tracery usually floral. Of the three the former was the least satisfactory. There was in every figure a certain unnatural stiffness, a want of flexibility in appearance; there being two reasons for this. The historical reason was that the long period of Muslim predominance, with its attendant discouragement of the production of animal figures, had a limiting influence on ivory carving. The other reason was the desire to economize as far as possible the material used. There was however, a considerable advance in tracery designs and perforation³.

The prospects of the ivory trade in Delhi seemed to be declining, though there was no deterioration in the artistic skill. The causes were not far to seek. The increase of communication, resulting as it did in the constant changes of officials, left the latter with no desire to

1. Watt, 1903, 174—76.

2. Monograph (I. C.), 4—5; Powell, *ii*, 214.

3. Monograph (I. C.) pp. 16—17; Watt, 1903 p. 177.

accumulate articles liable to destruction. More over they had developed the feeling, perhaps false in this case, that the Panjabis always demanded excessive prices for their artistic works. Absorption of the old wealthy classes and the reduction of the Panjabi courts, had removed the greatest incentive to the industry. Nor were the prospects good in Amritsar. And in Patiala, indeed, it greatly declined. Amritsar, however, being a religious centre of the Sikhs, had a wider market in combs and also in churas which were in fair demand amongst the Jat women of the Central Panjab. But the cheapening of silver and dearness of ivory, were gradually deriving the churas out of use¹.

(8)

LEATHER INDUSTRY

In the Panjab in 1900, the number of bulls and bullocks was 4,631,729 ; that of cows, 3,566,047 ; of male buffaloes 529,137 ; of cow-buffaloes, 1,903,071 ; of horses 312,746, sheep and goats, 9,901,893 ; camels, 271,033 ; donkeys 572,364 ; and of mules 40,023². And assuming that 40 percent of the agricultural stock died or was slaughtered every year, the yield of hides and skins must be very considerable³.

The skins ordinarily used for tanning in the Panjab were those of the buffalo, bull or cow, sheep and goat. Besides these the skins of horses, asses and camels were sometimes worked up ; and in special parts the skins of other animals also, such as the wild cat, fox, snow leopard, grey and brown squirrel, jackal, bear, karth, gural and barking deers were occasionally made use of⁴. Dog skins were wasted. The *iquna* (*goh*) a kind of lizard, was occasionally hunted in Gujrat, Jullundur and Multan for shoes. There was a growing demand for rat and squirrel skins in Europe for ladies purses, hand-bags and similar fancy articles⁵.

Bullocks' hides yielded the strong leather used for shoes and general use ; buffalo's hide, the thickest of all, was used where great strength was required ; goat-skins furnished thin leather and camel hide was rarely and locally used⁶.

Local hide was inferior, its defects being due to the fact that Indian cattle was lean seldom cared for, and killed only when too old to

1. Monograph (I. C), pp. 18—19 ; I. G. I. P. ii. 82—83.
2. A. R. 1900—01. For details see the first chapter.
3. See Latifi, p. 100.
4. Monograph (leather), 1893, p. 15.
5. Latifi, pp. 117—119.
6. Powell, II. 121.

breed or give milk. Inferiority of hides was, however, compensated by an abundant supply of goat-skins, which though somewhat coarse in grain, were not less serviceable than those produced by any other country¹.

Chief of the tanning materials of the Panjab was the bark of the kikar (*Acacia arabica*). The bark and leaves of *Rhus Cotinus*, too, were in some demand. There were many other tanning agents used in the Panjab, list of which will be too lengthy to give here. But the tanning industry which commanded the highest knowledge and technical skill in Europe, was in Panjab the monopoly of the meanest, poorest and most degraded orders of the people. Their methods were primitive in the extreme, which caused enormous waste of raw material. But the lack of capital, too, was not a small hinderance².

Leather Articles. Of the leather articles, mention may here be made, especially, of the Panjabi saddle. The Panjab saddlery was generally much more ornamented than European. The saddle (*zin* or *kathi*) was made of wood covered with leather or cloth, or velvet and padded; it was very high both behind and in front, so that it was almost impossible to fall off.³ The demand for country harness and saddlery was, however, declining under the British rule, with the change of fashions, and towns such as Kalanaur in Rohtak, and Dina Nagar in Gurdaspur, which sometime used to be the seats of their manufacture, were giving way to Kanpur and Meerut⁴.

Chaguls or leather water bottles, which used to be made at many places in the Panjab had almost died out by 1893⁵. Drums (*daf*) and tumblers, as also leather hukabowls, however, continued to be made in most districts. The simple wants of the zamindar and his menials were supplied by his village *mochi*, who provided them with all the articles of daily use, such as '*bokas*', '*charsas*', and *bellows*⁶. *Kuppas* or large leathern jars for holding oil or ghi, scale pans of balances and many other such small articles were made of leather⁷. But the kerosine-oil tin had almost killed the industry of *Kuppas*, towards the close of the 19th century⁸.

1. Latifi, p. 101.

2. Latifi, *ii*, 104, 106.

3. Powell, *ii*, p. 138.

4. Monograph (leather), pp. 13—14; Latifi, p. 113.

5. Monograph (leather), p. 25.

6. *Boka* and *charsa* were each a kind of bucket for drawing water from wells.

7. Monograph (leather), pp. 24—26.

8. Latifi, p. 116.

Shoes. Nothing so well indicated the strange diversity of tribes in the Panjab territories, as the curious variety of shoes worn. There were shoes suited for the snows and mountain paths of Himalaya; broad strong shoes for the frontier warlike tribes strongly sewn with leather thongs and bright with silk embroidery; there were green slippers with high iron shod heels worn by Muslims at Peshawar; delicate little gold worked shoes for the ladies of the Chaj Doab, gorgeous brocade shoes from the Delhi bazars; and the classical Greek buskins from Bannu.

Common shoes of bullock's hide of various qualities were made everywhere, the commonest kind were worn by poor people, for the middle class a little ornament was introduced—an edging of red leather, and so forth. The wealthier classes wore of fine leather embroidered with gold¹.

The prospects of the country shoe industry were by no means bright, as the European boot was increasingly affected by all classes who had been touched in any manner by the rays of European culture. Much of the new demand was satisfied from Kanpur².

Difficulties for the Industry. The profession of working in leather, always unsavoury, was considered in India to be particularly unclean and the persons engaged in this occupation had at all times in its history been looked down upon as a degraded class, in some cases actually out-cast and excluded from participating with others in the rites of their nominal religion, and in other cases admitted on sufferance to do so³.

The prospects of the industry did not look bright—the spread of the competitive principles of free trade and the opening up of communication which enabled consumers to obtain their dressed leather or their manufactured leather articles more cheaply from one of the great leather-working centres like Kanpur had fatally injured the industry of the local hereditary leather-working classes. The old customary system of the 'sep' (under which the menials supplied the villager's needs in return for a fixed share of the harvest) was fast dying out, and as directly open competition and payment by cash came in, the crude and imperfect work of the local chamar had no chance in the market—even in the point of cheapness, against the work turned out by large and well managed tanneries and leather factories. Under the 'sep' system the leather-worker shared

1. Powell, *ii*, pp. 133—134.

2. Latifi, p. 111.; Monograph (leather), pp. 13—14.

3. Monograph (leather), p. 1.

in the fortunes of the agricultural community to which he belonged ; now the interests of the two were becoming antagonistic, as those of producer and consumer must ordinarily be. The rise in prices and specially in the price of food had also very injuriously effected these classes. They told doubly against them, for the zimindars, their best and in agricultural communities practically their only customers, found themselves obliged to economise and haggle over every piece they spent, while the money itself had not the same purchasing power. The class of middle men also was gradually coming more into prominence and absorbing its share of what were always only too slender profits. The Khojas advanced money or money and material to mochis who were in difficulties, and bought up the whole work of their borrowers for a certain period. The result, of course, was that the mochi got more and more involved in their meshes and found it utterly impossible to extricate himself from their hands. Those who worked for wages were no better off. They got either the same or less wages than they used, and as prices had gone up, the food equivalent was always smaller than before. Everywhere the complaint was the same. Cheap saddle from Kanpur and Meerut (as noticed above) was destroying the industry of the Panjab saddle makers, who did a thriving business in the Sikh times. Towns such as Kalanaur in Rohtak and Bhivani in Hissar, which formerly did a flourishing leather trade, had now sadly fallen off in prosperity. And lastly the introduction of patent leather shoes by the Bengali Babu community and the spread of their use among other town classes, also contributed towards the decay of the Panjab industry. Some mochis had taken to making patent leather shoes, but they were inferior to the imported article, and the latter was so cheap that it left no margin for successful competition¹. The main difficulties of all branches of the leather as well as the tanning industry was the dearth of skilled and reliable workmen².

(9)

GOLD AND SILVER WORKS

In the Panjab, it was a point of family honour for women to wear as many ornaments as possible, and it is hardly necessary to say that jewellery was as much worn by men as women, although the trend among the former was to do away with it. These ornaments were made of all sorts of material, and enormous variety of names the different ornaments carried, could not fail to astonish an observer³. Mr. Powell gave 99

1. Monograph (leather), pp. 13—14; Latifi, pp. 104—105.

2. Latifi, p. 113.

3. For further details see costumes.

names for ornaments used in the Panjab, but this list was by no means exhaustive¹.

Superior work was turned out at Amritsar and Delhi. The most original work of the latter place was that known by the Europeans as babul work—indicating its resemblance to the flower of the *Acacia Arabica* and could be described as a little ball of yellow filaments. The Panjabi workmen called it “Kardar”, literally work of thorns (khar) or points². Under the British rule a good deal of jewellery began to be made at Delhi for the European market. “Chandnee Chowk”, in Delhi, noted Mr. Matheson in 1870, “may be styled the Regent Street of North Western India..... the array of tinsel and fancy ornaments, including such things as beads and bangles, gold and silver lace, flashy head-dresses and glittering marriage boxes, not only outshone but far outnumbered the products of sober usefulness, being to that extent in higher favour and better demand.”

“But jewellery in Delhi was not so much displayed in the shops, where the orders flowed from the Western world. It was rather sold by sundry competitive jewellers and other craftsmen, who appeared at the door of every respectable man who might be interested in it³.” For the outside world, Delhi and rest of India were included in the secret syndicate, and were periodically visited by dealers who came and went unnoticed⁴.

Besides Amritsar and Delhi there were some other places known. Lahore, Peshawar and Gujranwala had a celebrity of very local character. For enamel, Multan or Kangra was preferred; for inlay, Kotli or Gujrat. Best jewellery of Kulu could be had at Dhughilag near Sultanpur. Silver headed walking sticks were best made at Nizamabad in the Gujranwala district. The country town of Rahon had a name for gold and silver ribbon; that of Peshawar for dori and Kaitun. Good “sunsehra” or fringe for a bridegroom, could be had at Sialkot. No imaginable reason could be assigned to the phenomenon as to why one particular thing was best made at one place and another thing at another place⁵.

The extent of the industry may be known from the facts as reported

1. Powell, II, pp. 181—184; Monograph (gold & silver works), 1890, pp. 32; See also D. G. Hissar, pp. 129—133; D. G. Hissar 1892, pp. 90 to 93.

2. Powell, p. 186.

3. John Matheson, 1870, (England to Delhi), p. 357.

4. Journal of Indian arts No. 17 to 20. pp. 25—26. See also D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 142.

5. Monograph (gold & silver) 1890, p. 12.

in 1890, that the amount of ornaments broken up annually for re-use in Jullundur was valued at Rs. 58,890 ; in Jhang was valued at Rs. 90,000 ; in Gujranwala at about Rs. 25,000 and in Hissar at Rs. 13,000 of gold and Rs. 22,000 of silver. The amount of raw gold which in one shape or other, was worked up into goldsmith's work annually may also be noted for a few districts. Thus the figure for Jullundur was Rs. 207,381 for Multan Rs. 130,000 and for Lahore and Gujranwala Rs. 400,000 each¹.

Style of the ornaments worn by the Jats, who formed a great part of the peasantry of the plains, was coarse and heavy. Both in the hills and in the plains, peasants loved quantity rather than quality, though some of the ornaments of the women were unique and somewhat attractive in form and character².

The Trends of the Industry. Delhi, the jewellery of which was a favourite theme of the early European travellers, had in the eighties of the 19th century, unfortunately, the reputation as a manufacturing centre, perhaps, greater than was warranted by the actual facts³. Much of the work from Delhi, shown in an exhibition in 1881-82, was reported to be poor in design and of no great excellence. Incrustation of jade, with patterns of which the stem work was in gold and the leaves and flowers in garnets, rubies, diamonds etc., was an art in which Delhi really excelled. And it was by work of this kind that Delhi was best known. The Panjab exhibition of 1894 and the Delhi Coronation Durbar Exhibition of 1903, illustrated further stages of decay. The Art Congress at Lahore, which was held at the time of the exhibition of 1894, strongly recommended the institution of industrial museums and show rooms to arrest the decay by showing specimens of the best work, but without any large measure of success⁴.

From the continuous absence of a cultivated and refined court, and from the strain of warfare, there was not much luxury left in Panjab under the British rule. There were fewer old families in this province than elsewhere, and also few men of great wealth. The great treasures, of which were once stored up in the fort of the ancient Hindu Rajas (kings) of Kot Kangra in the Kangra valley, were no more to be found⁵.

1. Monograph (G. & S. L), p. 8.

2. Journal of Indian Art & Industry, April, 1907, No. 98, p. 53.

3. Journal of Indian Arts, Nos. 17 to 20, p. 25. ; see also D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 141.

4. Ibid, p. 26, Journal of I. A. & I. July 1906, No. 95.

5. Journal of Indian Art and & I. April 1907, No. 98, p. 53.

Moreover the imitation of European work was, perhaps, the least successful. Nor were the Delhi jewellers more fortunate in their imitations of Indian work from other parts of the country. And it was notorious that Panjab industrial art-workers had been encouraged to preserve in a bad way by the pressure of dealers, amateur patterns with little knowledge of art and even schools of art, much to the detriment of their indigenous work and of their own reputation¹. The peace that the British rule gave to the Panjab, may in short, be said to have had threefold effect on the goldsmith's trade, *i.e.*, a decrease in the merely ostentatious class of work, an increase but a concentration of the better forms of ornaments industry and a large development of the simplest and coarsest kinds. The result was on the whole advantageous to the goldsmiths as a class, but they had displayed themselves so gradually and unevenly as to leave ground for complaint. The sunar (goldsmith) on the whole, was poor².

Gold and Silver Wire-making and Cognate. Kandla was a wire made of gold or silver or an alloy of these metals, the wire being drawn until ten or twelve yards³ per tola of metal were produced. The wire having been prepared by 'tarkash' and the 'dabkaya' was handed over to various craftsmen, who transferred it into the hundred and one forms of tinsel⁴.

The wire-drawing industry in the Panjab was an extremely ancient one. It appeared, in the form it existed under the British rule at least, to have been first practised by the Mohammedans; but the Hindus too practiced it, though in a cruder and more laborious process⁵.

While it could not be said that the demand for tinsel made from drawn wire had in any way decreased, the wire-drawing industry was declining under the British rule, more definitely after 1903⁶. The clearest evidence of the decline was to be found in the history of the guilds of kandla-kash of Delhi and Lahore.

To prevent the deterioration of the Lahore manufacture and consequent depression of trade, all the kandla-kashes took each 'raini' prepared for wire-drawing to the municipal office where it was tested.

1. Journal of Indian Art, July, 1906, No. 95, 8.

2. Monograph (G. and S. I.), 15.

3. It may be as less as 2½ yards per tola, according to need : Punjab Internal Trade Report, 1881-1882, Appendix (Mr. Stogdon's note).

4. Monograph (Wire and Tinsel Industry), 1909, 1-5.

5. Watt. 416.

6. It may be interesting here, to extend our period of study from 1901 to 1903, in order to complete the story.

The raini found to contain more than a fixed proportion of alloy was destroyed as spurious, but that which was passed as satisfactory was stamped with mark L.32. Thus the purity of Lahore kandla was guaranteed, the solidarity of the guild was assured and the trade was protected against the fraudulent interlopers. But lapse of time and the introduction of new commercial ideas so far weakened the authority of custom that by 1890 the practice of hall-marking the kandla had to be discontinued.

In Delhi, the events took very much the same course. The guild here was an extremely ancient one, which used to work in the serai—occupying the site of the present Town Hall—which was built by Jahanara Begum, daughter of Shah Jahan in 1650. Shortly after 1857, the members of the guild were removed to the street running south from the doors of the Fatehpur mosque. Under the Mughal rule the guild paid a fee to Government, and the British continued the levy of this fee when they assumed the control. In 1889 after an inquiry into the nature of the fee, it was suggested that the impost should be abolished. But as the guild was unanimously in its favour the system had to be continued but fee ceased to be classed as Octroi as hitherto it had been, and was shown as payment for service rendered. By 1903, however, schism had arisen in the guild and knowing that the payment could not be enforced legally, some members conceived the idea of refusing to pay the fee. Thus both in Delhi and Lahore, the most important centres of the industry in the Panjab, the guilds became disorganised, entailing a decline of the industry. The import of wire and tinsel from foreign countries, especially Germany, which were better and cheaper than the local produce, gave another blow. The industry thus went on declining¹.

Inlay, Electroplating, Enamel, Gold and Silver Foil. Mr. Powell gave a very minute account of inlay of gold on steel known as koftgari work, in 1872². In 1890, very little work was reported to be done at Amritsar and the industry at Multan had ceased altogether. Sialkot and Gujrat were the centres of art in 1890. The workmanship, however, was declining even there. But as a result of European patronage, the trade was said to have improved in Gujrat during the last decade of the 19th century³. The electroplating industry in the Panjab was very small one. The art of electroplating in the European method was introduced

1. Monograph (W. and T.), 9-11 ; D. G. Delhi, 1912, 152.

2. Powell, *ii*, 167-171.

3. Monograph (G. and S.), 28 ; D. G. Gujrat, 1892-93, 128-130 ; D. G. Sialkot, 1894-95, 130-131 ; Monograph (I. and Steel), 1908, 6.

in the Panjab and was practised in Sialkot to a small extent¹. Kangra and Multan seemed to be the only places where the art of enamelling on gold and silver in pink, white, yellow, green, blue and red was practised to any appreciable extent. In Multan, it was reported in 1872, the work started with one Naulu, who worked 400 years back². Gold and silver foil was also produced to a small extent at places like Delhi, Hoshiarpur, Pind Dadan Khan, Amritsar, Multan, Lahore and Kangra. It was used for stone setting, overlaying, illuminating, binding and as a component part of Indian medicine³.

(10)

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES

The Panjab being above all things an agricultural country, the great portion of the iron and steel industry derived its existence from agriculture. In the later years of the English occupation, however, further subsidiary industries were springing up, to satisfy the needs besides those of the agriculturist, which were increasing with the rise in the standard of living.

Almost every village had atleast one lohar who provided all the iron implements required in the village. He was one of the menials of the village and did not attempt to soar high in his profession. The quality of his work under the British rule, remained the same as it was before it ; but in villages near big towns, he was able to make more elaborate articles than his predecessor.

The work of an independent lohar in the towns was similar to that of the village lohar, except that it had become more polished and as a rule he began to make a little more use of steel⁴.

The work of the smith working in a factory or shop, may be discussed separately. Iron safes and steel trunks were made in every city of any size in the Panjab, but the safes of Gujranwala and to a lesser extent those of Jagadhri in the Ambala district, were considered better. For steel trunks and despatch boxes, the better known places were Amritsar, Lahore, Delhi, Sialkot and Multan. In Sialkot the number of factories was increasing. The locks of two patterns—the screw and lever—were

1. Monograph (G and Silver), 28-29 ; Powell, 172.

2. Powell, 191-192 ; Monograph (G. and S.), 29 ; See also *Journal of Indian Art* July, 1884, No. 3.

3. Powell, ii, 173 ; Monograph (Wire and Tinsel), 1909, 12-13 ; Monograph (G. and S.), 1890, 29.

4. Monograph (Iron and Steel), 1908, 1-2.

manufactured in Jullundur, Ludhiana, Delhi, Sialkot and Gujrat. The town of Rupar in the Ambala district, where puzzle locks of all kinds were manufactured, had a great reputation. But the usual lock was quite simple and was opened by two turns of the key¹.

In the former days, there was a demand for weapons of all kinds ; swords, daggers, battle axes and spear heads and the corresponding defensive weapons were made. Lahore used to be famous for the manufacture. But no sooner did the stormy days of the later Sikh rule pass away, than the demand for such wares ceased or was greatly diminished². But in the frontier district, Peshawar, men of considerable skill at these handicrafts could still be found³.

The manufacture of articles of cutlery flourished chiefly in the Gujranwala and Sialkot districts and in Bhera in the Shahpur district. On the whole, the articles were a fair imitation of those of English make though much more brittle and less durable. There was a considerable export trade especially in the knives, which found their way all over India.

The town of Batala in the Gurdaspur district was famous for the manufacture of sugar-cane presses, flour mills, lathes, and various other articles of a like nature⁴.

Demascening⁵ or inlaying of gold and silver wire on steel or iron was dying out in the Panjab, except in Sialkot and Gujrat districts⁶. Originally Bhera in the Shahpur district was famous not so much in the metal as in the stone handles and ornamentations of the articles manufactured. There was a considerable export trade in the ornamented articles. The artistic craftsmen were in considerably better circumstances. But their manufactures could not compete with similar articles by European processes and the artistic-work suffered from want of some ground-work of real practical value on which to be exhibited⁷.

Generally speaking the process employed in the iron and steel

1. Monograph (I. and Steel.), 1908, 1-2.

2. Powell, *ii*, 144-145 ; I. G. I. P., *i*, 81 ;

3. D. G. Peshawar, 1897-98, 222.

4. Monograph (I. and S.), 4-6 ; Powell, *ii*, 144.

5. See Inlay-Gold and Silver works.

6. Originally arms and armours were the only things in demand, but under the British rule, the inlaid work on caskets, vases, pistols, combs, brooches, bracelets, and so forth, was developing. The underside of the inlaid work, was now better finished with the aid of electro-gilding.

7. Monograph (I. and S.) pp. 6-8 ; I. G. I. P., *II*, p. 81 ; Watt (Indian A. at D.) 1903 ; Powell, *II*, pp. 144-145, 165-168.

industry was not of such a kind that they could ever supply articles suited to a higher standard of living. If not in the articles of artistic value, then at least in the other articles in the case of town and cities, the Sheffield manufacturer was certainly ousting the Panjabi "Lohar". The Panjab artisans, however, were gradually getting familiar with the intricate European processes and there was no reason why they could not turn out as good work as European craftsmen¹.

(11)

BRASS AND COPPER MANUFACTURES

The trade of the brazier and copper smith had always formed an important branch of Indian craftsmanship. Brazen vessels were prescribed by religious ordinance for Hindu use, and had for centuries served for domestic as well as sacrificial purposes.

The general rule was that the Hindus cooked and ate in brazen vessels, and Mohammedans in tinned copper ware. The brass work in the Panjab was in consequence usually Hindu, and the copper smith Mohammedan, but there were many of both races who worked in both metals².

In the former times copper used to come into the Panjab from Kabul, but this import entirely ceased under the British rule and the European spelter, chiefly German, derived the Chinese zinc out of the market. Various copper and zinc ores existed in the Kulu hills and in other parts of the Himalayas, and these were formerly made use of ; but the copper and brass imported, it was reported in 1888, were so cheap that these mines had to be closed³.

The industry was limited, generally, to the manufacture of domestic utensils, which were only roughly ornamented. There was no great variety in shape of these articles. The trade of idol-maker in the Panjab was never at lower level than under the British rule, as it was reported in 1884. Neither copper nor brass were much used in the Panjab for personal adornments. But although the Panjab had no special reputation for excellence of workmanship in these metals, the workmen of the province, though subject to some peculiar limitations, were not behind those of the rest of India in technical skill⁴.

In respect of patterns, generally speaking, the Panjab work was much

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1. Monograph (I. and S). p. 8.
 2. Journal of Indian Art. No. 1. Jan. 1884 ; (N. P.) Powell, II, pp. 137-138.
 3. Monograph (Brass and Copper) 1886-87, p. 1, I. G. I. P, I, p. 81.
 4. The Journal of Indian Art No. 1. Jan 1884.

inferior to that of Kashmir, Persia and Muradabad. Nor was there a big incentive to improve the work. The skilled artisans (thatheras) though not badly remunerated as compared to some other industries, were at some places practically the slaves of Kaseras or capitalist dealers¹. Glass and crockery were coming more and more into use, even among those who did not ape foreign manners at all².

The chief centres of manufacture were Rewari, Delhi, Jagadhari, Panipat, Gujranwala, Amritsar, Pind Dadan Khan and various places in Sialkot district, for copper, brass and kansi, and Peshawar for copper. Due chiefly to the introduction of railways and the general improvement in communication, the industry was getting concentrated in these localities, as they had certain advantages like being on the main arteries of provincial traffic over the other places like Multan, Rawalpindi, where the prospects were not bright³.

(12)

POTTERY AND GLASS INDUSTRIES

In the Panjab, and it may be said in India, there was no indigenous manufacture so common as pottery; almost every village having its potter⁴, who was generally a village menial who supplied the requirements of villagers in return for a fixed share of the harvest—"sep"⁵.

But the art of a potter had never been held in high estimation in the Panjab⁶. The Panjab potter used the simplest means and instruments in his trade. He preferred to avail himself of the materials that lay nearest to his hand without going further afield in search of what could answer his purpose better. The clays found in each district were of two or three kinds coloured in various shades of grey and red. White or yellow clay was not common, and was found only in the Derajat and Peshawar divisions, and in the districts of Jhang, Karnal and Shahpur. The same clay was used for rough pottery and for art work. The varieties chiefly used were the light red, and the so called "Kalli mitti", which was not black but dark grey in colour, really black clay being very rare. Besides the clay of which the vessel was formed, coloured earths were the only other materials used in rude pottery work. These

1. Journal of Indian Art No. 1, Jany 1884 ; Monograph (B. and C.), p. 8.

2. Powell, II, p. 138.

3. Monograph (B. & C.) ; I. G. I. P., I, p. 81 ; Latifi, pp. 244-259.

4. Powell, *ib.* p. 232.

5. I. G. I. P., vol. I p. 81.

6. Journal of Indian Arts Nos. 9 to 12 p. 65.

could not be moulded, and they were used simply as colouring matter. The most commonly used was red ("geru" or banni) which was usually found in a few spots in each district, but black and white earth was also procured in the Salt Range¹.

The potter's wheel was a rude and clumsy looking thing, but was not at all places of the same make and shape². The other instruments such as "Taga"—a string, and scrapers etc., were all simple. The most common form of kiln was a simple hole dug in the ground near the potter's house³.

The Articles Made. The articles chiefly made were those in common domestic use or those required for agricultural purposes. The generality of articles made were water jars, drinking and cooking vessels, and other such vessels of great variety used by the poorer classes, though the first were in general requisition by rich and poor Europeans and the Indians⁴. The only distinctive kinds of unglazed pottery in the Panjab were : the ordinary clay pottery, either red or black when baked, made in all districts, in some better than in others ; the fine pottery work of Rohtak ; the pale yellow and grey clay ware of Derajat, the texture of which was gritty and very porous thus making very excellent 'surahis' or water coolers. Under the first head, however, there was a considerable variety. In some districts there were skilful potters who made bowls of pottery clay almost as thin as stout paper (kagazi) ; they being porous, if filled with water, soon rendered it extremely cool owing to the rapid and easy evaporation. In some places the pottery was ornamented with an amalgum of mercury in patterns⁵. The rude paintings in black lines, on the pottery, were usually made by potter women. The black lines often had a peculiar meaning, for the "ghara" (pitcher) which a Hindu had to present to his "guru" had to be ornamented with them ; hence in some places, as in Karnal, "gharas" so marked were used by Hindus only⁶. There was hardly any change in the traditional patterns and shapes of these articles under the British rule⁷.

The Prospects. There was no import or export in rough ware. Inter-district trade was carried only by means of fairs, and "zamindars" occasionally went out of their districts to get articles which were considered to be made better elsewhere. The demand existed only for

1. Monograph (pottery and G. I.), pp. 1-3.

2. Powell, II, p. 232.

3. Monograph (P. and G. I.), pp. 4-6.

4. Powell, ii, 232-233 ; Monograph (P. and G.), pp. 6-11.

5. Powell, ii, p. 228.

6. Monograph (p and g) p. 6.

7. Ibid. p. 16.

objects of simple utility, and the fineness of work did not pay. The tin canisters, metal vessels and imported China vessels were decreasing the demand for unglazed pottery. But they did not seem to have much effected the industry yet¹.

GLAZING, THE ART POTTERY AND THE MANUFACTURE OF TOYS

Glazing. It does not appear that people of the Panjab ever practiced generally the art of glazing pottery for the domestic use. But the art of glazing and using encaustic colours had existed from an early date, and had, strange to say, the form in which it was practised with success, almost entirely perished, wrote Mr. Powell in 1872².

The bulk of the pottery made was water vessels, and required no glazing. Domestic vessels were seldom glazed and, as a rule, no glazing was ever done except in the case of martbans", "rikabis", "piyalas", "chillams", "diwas", ink-pots and "huqqas". Only eight districts (Karnal, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Jullundur, Gujrat, Rawalpindi, Dera Ismail Khan and Hoshiarpur) were noticed in 1892, as having any manufactures of glazed articles, and in each district the manufacture was represented by only one or two men. Manufacture of glazed pottery could be introduced only in a very few of the jails and as a rule, simply supplied their own requirements.

Owing to the small local demand glazed ware was exported from the places where it was made. But glazing was usually practised by ordinary potters in addition to their usual work and the total out-turn and the amount exported was small. It was kept alive only by the supply to the Commissarial Department, of cheap "gamlas" and the like³.

The Art Pottery. A trade in art pottery existed only in Multan and Peshawar. Attempts made to introduce "kashigari" into Amritsar by inducing workmen from Multan and Sindh to settle there, failed. The introduction of a sort of procelain manufacture into Delhi was, however, more successful, and Delhi by 1892 had become known for its white pottery. Outside Multan and Peshawar, there did not exist a regular manufacture in the province. The manufacture of tiles, once so extensive had practically died out in the Panjab.

In Multan, glazed pottery was originally confined to the manufacture

1. *ibid* pp. 15-16

2. Powell, *ii*, p. 220.

3. Monograph (P. and G.), p. 19-20 ; Powell. II, 233.

of tiles and slabs etc., painted with text and other designs, and intended to be built into mosques, tombs and other buildings. But the local demand for this kind of work died out, and a European demand arose which entirely changed the character of the articles made, and developed a trade in flower-pots, large plateaux for decorative purposes and vases. The predominant colours were light and dark blue, brown and green. The spirit of the times, dictated doubtless by the vicissitudes of the times, led the kashigars of Multan, towards the close of the 19th century, to imitate the greens, yellows and browns, as well as the blues on a blue (not white) background, produced fairly successfully in Sindh. The result looked to be most disastrous. The depth of blues and whites of Multan, which was the glory of the evolution of centuries of patient study and discovery, had been badly effected. The work became slovenly, the design weak and the colours dull and it was noticed in 1903 that the modern work "with its abortive efforts at new colours, manifests so serious a decline from that of even 20 years ago that the death blow may be said to have been given to the industry¹". Nor was the glaze now used so durable as that on the old work². In 1892 there were only 5 shops of kashigars employing 15 workmen in Multan³.

The manufacture of glazed pottery in Peshawar for the Panjabi table was of ancient origin and could be considered peculiar to the district. The Peshawar pottery was noted for its colouring rather than for form or design. Very few of the tiles made in 1891 were free from grave faults, but some blue and white made about 20 years before showed what good work could be turned out under proper guidance. Workmen were turning their attention to jugs and tea-pots etc., of European forms, but the local clay was not strong enough to allow any but thick and unsatisfactory copies to be made⁴. The prevalent form towards the close of the century was green and pink on a milky white, but in the earlier work the patches of colour were associated so as to give, at a distance, the effect of bunches and flowers. The glazing seemed, however, to have improved and the pattern had come much more largely into competition with the imported Russian, Chinese, Dutch and the English pottery for which there was a large local demand⁵.

A variety of art pottery in the white "porcelain" work which was later on established in the district, was noticed being made in Delhi in

1. Watt, Sir George, (*Indian Art at Delhi*), 91-92.

2. D. G. Multan, 1901-1902, 246.

3. Monograph (P. and G.), 17.

4. D. G. Peshawar, 1897-98, 219-220.

5. Watt, 1903, 90.

1870¹. The procelain was manufactured from burbura (powder formed of disintegrated felspathic rock), and covered with a glaze produced from powdered glass (kanch) and a quartz powder². The articles like "martbans" and "dwats" etc., were made and new forms were introduced with the rise of the European demand, but the lack of enterprise and ignorance of the possibilities of the art prevented it from being largely developed³.

That the structure of plants and their poetical symbolism had been studied by a Panjabi artist was incontestable, but it was seldom that any direct reference to nature, or sentimental allusions were obvious in his work⁴.

Obstacles in the way of art pottery in the Panjab were, the lack of enterprise displayed by the workmen, the jealousy with which they guarded their secrets in order to prevent competition, and the readiness they displayed to abandon old forms and methods suited to Panjabi work in order to adopt cheaper and less effective materials, such as dyes, or English patterns that were unsuitable⁵.

Manufacture of Toys. The number of toy-makers in the Panjab was greater than that of persons employed in the manufacture of Art and glazed pottery, but toy-making was not a regular trade followed by any person as his sole means of subsistence. The sale of toys was chiefly carried on during Hindu "melas". Toys were usually made in the figures of gods, men and animals, and the manufacture was therefore entirely in the hands of Hindus, for the Mohammedans were forbidden by their religion to make images. The clay used was of the common variety. Where pottery was glazed, toys were glazed in the same way as the pottery. Expenditure in toys in the Panjab was fairly considerable. But the industry was small.

The toys made were extremely rough. Efforts were made in Amritsar to educate the taste of the public by the distribution of good plaster casts. But the industry did not seem to be developing. Europeans did not influence the fashion in toys, except by furnishing models for grotesque figures that abounded of Sahibs and Memsahibs, and the like. The import of cheap German and other European toys of wood and tin was said to be making its influence felt, and the local industry appeared

1. Monograph (P. and G.), 18.

2. Powell, *ii*, 227.

3. D. G. Delhi, 1912, 151; Monograph (P. and G.), 18-19.

4. Journal of Indian Arts, Nos. 9 to 12, 67.

5. Monograph (P. and G.), 16.

to have a more restricted future before it¹.

GLASS MANUFACTURE

The manufacture of glass, it was reported in 1872, was still in its earliest infancy in the Panjab. There was neither good material forthcoming wherewith to make pure glass nor suitable furnaces to melt and to anneal it².

The manufacture of glass in the Panjab was divided in two branches, viz., the manufacture of glass bangles called "churis", and the manufacture of bottles, chimneys and other such articles. Nearly all the glass-workers in the province were "churigars", and they were found in 17 districts, in 1891³.

Except in Rohtak, where two factories apparently employed 15 hands apiece, in 1891, there were no factories employing more than 10 hands, so far as the manufacture of glass bangles was concerned. The industry existed only in towns and large villages. The bangle maker was generally a Muslim. Although some customs in the villages seemed to show the "churigar" working as a "sepi", the "sepi" system was very uncommon. In the Panjab plains the demand for bangles was large and was not likely to fall off. Delhi, Lahore and Multan appeared to be the chief centres of inter-district trade, although Panipat and Kangra also occupied an important position. But the number of persons employed in "churi" making was very limited, and it did not seem probable that the manufacture would extend in the Panjab. The price of wood used as fuel and that of the material used for the manufacture was increasing and large import of the better quality bangles from the North-West Provinces (U.P.) was effecting the local industry badly. Smallness of the factories offered no facilities for the introduction of appliances to economize labour and expense⁴.

The manufacture of glass articles other than "churi" was carried in Karnal, Kangra, Lahore, Peshawar, Hoshiarpur and Delhi and except in Lahore it did not exist as separate from "churi" making⁵. Looking glass was made in Delhi⁶, but its manufacture declined, for glass mirrors.

1. *ibid*, 21-23.

2. Powell, *ii*, 235.

3. Monograph (P. and G.), 23.

4. *Ibid*, 23-27.

5. *Ibid*, p. 27 ; I. G. I, P., I, p. 81.

6. Powell, *ii*, p. 239 ; Monograph (P. and G.), p. 27.

could be imported cheaper and of better quality¹. Indeed no article made in the Panjab was of a character to compete with imported goods.

The glass industry on the whole was only one of the unimportant industries of the Panjab².

(13)

THE GENERAL DIFFICULTIES

Before it was annexed to the British empire in India, Panjab, a seat of high civilization from pre-historic times, had already been noted as a chief centre of the Hindu power and subsequently of the Muslim, when it passed under their sway. When under the Muslim rule, its central position having Delhi in the east, and Naishapur, Iran, Bokhara and Bagdad on the west, all principal seats of Mohammedan enlightenment, enabled it to reap the benefits of encouragement which the caliphs and other Islamic sovereigns of the time gave to literature, sciences and the arts. Purely Saracenic art, or art-industries from foreign countries attracted by the accumulated wealth of the capitals of the Mohammedan sovereigns, soon found their way to Panjab, and blended themselves with the old Hindu manufactures, or established themselves as independent industries³. In the modern times, and immediately before it was annexed by the English, it had seen the foundation of the finest Sikh kingdom. But peace which was essential for the development of arts and the crafts was not always a part of the life of the Panjab people, especially so during the three hundred years ending in the British annexation in 1849.

During the rule of Mohammedan emperors, in the days of their strength and still more in the days of their weakness and decline, the Panjab was the battle-field of India. When the Mughal empire fell, the prospects of the arts did not improve. The condition of Panjab between 1760 and 1810 resembled that of England during the reign of king John. Ranjit Singh who rose to power on the ruins of the Sikh confederacies, was too busy in consolidating his empire, to have any reverence for the brush or the chisel. The ten years succeeding the death of Ranjit Singh were years of anarchy and revolution, and when the Panjab first found rest in 1849, being annexed to the British empire, it could not be considered strange that the British did not find the artistic standards too high⁴.

1. D. G. Delhi, 1912, p. 159.

2. Monograph (P and G) p. 28.

3. Journal of Indian Arts, 1886, No. 14, p. 105.

4. Powell, *ii*, 354-355.

There were other difficulties. A traveller in India, who visited an Exhibition in the Panjab in 1882 remarked jokingly that it seemed as if the only way to get the Panjabi workmen to do anything was to shut them in jail¹. This was certainly instructive to those who were sincerely interested in the encouragement of Arts and Industries in the Panjab.

"That the craftsmen of this Province perhaps to a greater extent than in any other part of India, excepting in parts of Guzerat, are capable of producing beautiful and saleable objects of oriental designs, was abundantly demonstrated", remarked Mr. Kipling in 1883, reviewing the Juries' Reports on the Exhibitions, referred to above². But lack of enterprise and the unwillingness to work everywhere met with was astonishing. It was only when "driven to it" that the Panjabi workmen could work with exemplary diligence and endurance. In giving orders for the local work, even when the order was accepted, the inevitable "to-morrow" had always to be born in mind. The other difficulty was, the workmen turned out piece after piece in such a hurry to get money that the articles had all the defects of the first copy gradually magnified. Thirdly the attempts on the part of some purchasers to buy work for less than its real value had a very serious effect in deteriorating the quality of manufacture. Another difficulty was the idea of doing something just like a real European article, with the result that not in few branches of Art and Industry, the indigenous qualities were forgotten while pure European qualities could not be attained.

The worst form of the disease, however, was the passion for the bright raw and flating colours of the imported aniline dyes³. The dyer's craft which boasted of great antiquity and which was flourishing in the Panjab till the seventies of the 19th century was completely defeated by the chemical dye-stuffs, by the end of it⁴. That a country in which the older work, in carpets, tapestry, fresco, enamel, and indeed in everything in which combined colour play a part, was so excellent, in which richness and depth, warmth and life, were combined with sobriety, delicacy and subdued harmony of tone ; should delight in greens which were complimentary to no known colour, in violets which give one a disagreeable sensation at the bottom of the throat, and in bluish crimsons which nature herself can hardly manage in the flower border, and which

1. The Journal of Indian Art, Jany. 1885, No. 5. p. 37,

2. Selection from Records New Series. No. XXII, 1383, p. 44.

3. Journal of Indian Art. Jany., 1885, No. 5. pp. 37-38 ; A. R. 1882-83.]

4. Latis, pp. 91-93,

in embroidery seem to have the faculty of killing or jarring with every other tone in their company, was truly wonderful¹. Moreover in using and in selecting the chemical dye-stuffs, the Panjab worker could not or would not apply his reason and imagination, as much as a European, American or a Japanee dyer did.

Minor difficulties were : more the tendency of all Panjabi craftsmen to leave their work crooked in line and unfinished in joints, to spoil a carving by allowing an ugly knot in the wood right in the middle, to disfigure their doors, as was the custom with the skilful Bhera carvers, by driving large headed tinned iron nails right through the centre of the moulding and so forth².

Except under proper supervision, the effect of an increased demand was always to raise the prices and to deteriorate quality. The workman worked in one sense industriously, but still intermittently, his time being broken up by a variety of interruptions. He had no capital. He seldom saw the purchasers of his wares and was frequently the bond-slave of middle man or bunia, who had advanced money to him. The whole system under which he lived tended rather to obscure than to bring him before the public³.

Another cause for disappointment in the work was the fact that many of the most choice and prizeable objects were not made in the regular course of production at all, but were *tour de force* which the workmen could not afford to repeat. The preparation of 'tofa chiz', the best, and occasionally the most elaborately useless article, of which the craftsman was capable, was a survival of the feudal system under which the workman presented at intervals his patron with a specimen of his art, receiving praise and gifts in return, though, as this practice was still in vogue at Indian Courts, it could scarcely perhaps be called a survival⁴.

The condition of the artisan was in all places, even where there was a flourishing trade in his goods, miserable. He was everywhere ignorant and impoverished, and carved a bare subsistence for himself and his family by a handicraft which was becoming less and less profitable everyday. He was almost without exception under the thumb of the capitalist.

There were other difficulties like the old methods of work and the old types of implements and tools, which are too clear in the above account of the different industries, to be repeated.

1. Journal of Indian Art. Jany. 1885, No. 5. p. 38.

2. Journal of Indian Art, Jany. 1885; No. 5, pp. 38-39.

3. Selection from Records, New series, No. XXII, 1883, p. 45.

4. Ibid. p. 46.

CHAPTER IX

Communication and Trade

(1)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Fifty years ago, and before the establishment of the British rule, wrote Anne C. Wilson in 1895, the travellers and the country folk in the Panjab had another tale to tell. Having railways out of question, the picture of roads in the Panjab hardly made an encouraging look¹. But a great change had taken place in the means of transport and communication by that time and still more by the year 1901. An excellent (and cheap) postal service had been evolved, a telegraph service had been introduced (although its efficiency was hindered by high charges), the railways were constructed and metalled and unmetalled roads developed. Of these, more important for the social and economic developments in Panjab were roads and the railways, of the development of which a short account may here be given.

The Roads. The chief road in the Panjab was a continuation of the Grand Trunk road, which, starting at Calcutta, ran through Northern India to Delhi. Thence in Panjab, it passed through Karnal, Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock, ending at Peshawar. The section from Karnal to Ludhiana was opened in 1852, but that from Phillaur to the Beas was only opened in 1860-61. From the Beas to Lahore the road was opened in 1853, and thence to Peshawar in 1863-64². It ran alongside the railway, and still continued to carry certain amount of show traffic. The other roads were mainly important as feeders of the railway system. On the north the chief routes were the Hindustan Tibet road, which ran from the Shipki Pass on the frontier of the Chinese empire to the railway terminal at Simla and Kalka and was opened in 1864-65³. The Kangra Valley cart-road, which

1. Wilson, Anne C. 1895, p. 128.

2. In the road from Lahore to Peshawar, the Court of Directors seem to have taken a special interest as according to their view, it was a work of absolute necessity (presumably political). Selection from the Records of the Government of India No. VII.

3. A. R. 1864-65, 74.

brought down tea and other hill products to Pathankot was opened in 1874-75¹. These roads were metalled and were practicable for wheeled traffic. As feeders and for local traffic unmetalled roads sufficed for the requirements of the people, and the construction of metalled roads was accordingly, in the later years, subordinated to that of railways².

The bullock-cart remained the chief means of transport of goods by road. In the sandy deserts bordering on the Bikaner desert, and in the Sind-Sagar Doab, including the Salt Range, the camel was the chief means of transport of merchandise, while in the Himalayas goods were carried on mules or by bearers. For passengers by road the light springless cart known as the ekka was the almost universal means of locomotion. On metalled roads, the tum tum, a vehicle with springs, was much in use. On the important cart-roads to the hills, regular passenger services were maintained by means of a two-wheeled carriage called a 'tonga', drawn by two ponies; at every four miles there being stages at which ponies were changed. Regular services of bullock-carts were also maintained on these roads³.

All the roads in the Panjab except those like the bridged and metalled road from Kushalgarh via Kohat to Bannu, and from Bannu to the Indus at Dera Ismail Khan which was sanctioned in 1884-85 by the Supreme Government to improve the frontier communication with reference to the accepted policy of frontier defence⁴; were maintained from provincial or district funds. The financial difficulties of the provincial Government⁵ and their effect on Public Works Department in the Panjab make an interesting study. There was a slow progress of roads in the Panjab, and it was not unoften that the responsibility for this was thrown upon the Imperial Government, which sanctioned funds to the province.

Reviewing the administration of the Panjab between 1856 and 1858, it was reported that during these two years about 11½ lakhs had been expended on roads which, with the previous expenditure, would make an aggregate of 123½ lakhs. But despite all that had been done and spent, the work remaining to be effected before the Panjab roads were in a proper state, was enormous. At the time most of the roads in the province were in a crude and half-finished state⁶. Yet, the financial pressure on

1. A. R., 1874-75.

2. I. G. I. P., i, 91.

3. *ibid*, 92.

4. See A. R. 1884-85.

5. See the Chapter X.

6. A. R. 1856-57 & 1857-58, 53.

the provincial Government was such that they could not be improved as hurriedly as the provincial Government would like to and the Department of Public Works suffered from still another difficulty when in 1872-73 some of its best officers were withdrawn for exclusive employment on military works, which were under the direct control of the Government of India¹.

The number of miles of metalled road in 1873-74 was 1,036, and of unmetalled roads 19,762². By 1878, the metalled roads had increased to 1,255 miles and the unmetalled to 20,030 miles and the Famine Commission report after certain enquiries stated that there was no part of the province in which any crying want existed, or which was not roughly supplied with all the necessary roads³. Yet according to the Panjab Government, the provincial work generally suffered from the want of funds⁴.

It was another blow to the development of roads when during 1879-80 large reduction was made in the establishment of the Public Works Department as a measure of financial economy⁵. So many projects had to be put in abeyance owing to the poverty of the finance in the province⁶.

The province was the bulwark of India, it was reported in 1884, its strength, then and in times of greater need, essentially depended in a large measure on its material resources ; and these could not be utilized without adequate expenditure, which it was not then within the power of the Local Government. The state of communication and of other works in the Panjab was, with reference to commercial, agricultural and political requirements, deplorably incomplete. It had been accepted, with reference to the strength of the provincial establishment, that no less than 27 lakhs should be spent upon Provincial Public Works each year. In the year 1882-83, 14½ lakhs out of the amount actually allotted had to be spent upon repairs for existing works. Of the allotment of 1883-84, 5.98 lakhs were spent on "Establishment", and 13.26 on "Repairs, so that the amount available for new works was no more than 8.88 lakhs. In an under developed country, 107,010 square miles in area, it was obvious that the amount of improvement which could

1. A. R. 1872-73.

2. A. R. 1873-74.

3. P. P. in Reply to I. I. F. C., Vol. ii, 1878-79, 743-74.

4. A. R. 1877-78.

5. A. R. 1879-80.

6. A. R. 1880-81.

be effected by a yearly sum of this description was miserably small¹.

In 1888-89, one lakh of rupees more than the average of the last two years were spent on the construction and repair of roads. Yet by 1891-92, out of more than 24,000 miles of roads in the province little more than 2,000 were metalled. The province could not yet be said to have been satisfactorily supplied with communication².

In 1893-94, enquiries were made with a view to curtailing the high cost of the maintenance of roads and certain improvements were introduced in the light of those enquiries. Yet the financial pressure remained such that by 1898-99, the development of the Public Works of the Province was small. The provincial Public Works Department was the residuary legatee of provincial finance, and was consequently the first to feel the effects of famine and scarcity, when the order for retrenchment and economy had gone forth³.

The Railways. Where as the roads in the Panjab were maintained from provincial and district funds, the development of the railways was in the hands of the Imperial Government⁴. The oldest railway in the Panjab was that from Amritsar to Lahore, opened in 1862⁵. That from Multan to Lahore linked up the capital with the Indus flotilla in 1865 ; but it was not till 1878⁶ that its extension north-westward began and only with the opening of the Attock bridge for traffic on the 24th May 1883, was the through communication from Peshawar to Calcutta and Bombay established⁷. Meanwhile Amritsar and Rawalpindi had been linked with Delhi in 1870 and 1873 respectively⁸ ; and though no further extension was made till 1883, progress was rapid after that year, as it

1. A. R. 1883-84.

2. See A. Rs. 1888-89 to 1891-92.

3. See A. Rs. 1891-1902. See also the Chapter No. X.

4. Amritsar-Pathankot was the only Railway which originally belonged to the Local Government, and this too was transferred to the North-Western Railway in 1892 as the Government of Panjab could not maintain it due to financial difficulties. See the chapter on Finance (No. X) also see A. R. 1881-82.

5. See A. R. 1862-63.

6. It is interesting to note that when the railway from Lahore to Peshawar was first decided upon there was difference of opinion as on one side there were some who held that the line should be first class to answer the commercial purposes but on the other side were those who held that though it was desirable for military and political grounds, tramway, or railroad of the roughest and cheapest sort would suffice.

Lord May reasoned that though it should not be absolutely first-class, there was no reason why it should not answer all military purposes fully. (*Eastern Economist*, Vol. i, Dec., 1869).

7. A. R. 1883-84.

8. See A. R. 1870-71 ; 1873-74.

will be clear from the following table.

	1881-82	1890-91	1900-01
Total milage open	1,696	2,665	3,829
Net profits (in thousands of rupees)	4,490	10,185	15,489
Number of European and Eurasian staff.	1,116	1,012	1,097
Number of Indian staff.	22,387 ¹	12,152	19,954
Total Capital expenditure from Commencement (in thousands of rupees)	261,302	410,552	555,687

The General Benefits of Railways in the Panjab. The general benefits to the Government and to the province as a whole of the development of the railways could hardly be overestimated. The facts relating to the question are too well known to be discussed in detail².

The strategical value of the railway system, we may say, lay chiefly in the facilities it offered for the transport of troops to the north-west frontier of India. The lines of railway formed the chain of communication between the great garrisons and cantonments which guarded the north-western frontier of India, and were the main artery for military transport during times of peace and war³.

The part which was contributed by the railways to the increased strength of the empire thus making the movement of troops easy, could not be overlooked⁴.

In the social life too their effect was not small. The railways, like

1. Includes 1,740 maintenance coolies.

2. See Desai A. R. 'Social Background...', 112-118.

3. See Ross, David, *Land of the Five Rivers*, 9.

4. See Wilson, Anne C., 1895, 132.

the other civilizing gifts of God were in their own way, working at the good of the Panjab by bringing the people who had been long and effectually separated from each other, by distance, race, religion and caste into, close contact. The railways were tending to erase local variations in speech, dress, manners and custom, and to obliterate the few restrictions which the caste system in the Panjab imposed on the ordinary intercourse of daily life¹.

The extension of railway was a blessing which helped in preventing famine and afforded employment to a large number of Panjabis and Europeans². Formerly the only means of sending grain to a tract affected by scarcity was by slow caravans of laden camels or bullocks. The railway had lessened the possibility of the people being overtaken by drought or famine. Thus during the famine of 1896-97, the grain traffic dealt with by them so quickly and easily was infinitely greater than what could have been disposed by country carts and cattle, the means of supply were infinitely enlarged through the virtual annihilation of distance as an obstacle to profitable trade, and the cost and burden of transport was infinitely lessened. In many parts of the Panjab, the absence of water and fodder in a famine year made carriage of grain by road for long distances almost impossible. The railway was now obviating all these difficulties³.

One could easily appreciate the impetus given to commerce by these multiplied means of communication. The commercial value of the railways in Panjab lay mainly in the export of cotton, grain (especially wheat), and oil seeds to Karachi. Combined with canals the railways were playing a great part in the economic life of the country, the former inducing the production of wheat on a vast scale, and the latter placing it on the world's market. In 1899-1900 the canal irrigated tracts formed a granery whence grain was distributed by the railways.

The railways also tended to equalise prices in all parts of the province from year to year, but it was doubtful whether by themselves they had raised prices generally⁴.

(2)

COMMERCE AND TRADE

The influence of geographical position of a country, on the development

1. *ibid*, 135-236.

2. See *Rozana-i-Panjab* dated 28th Nov- ; N. P. R. Panjab, (Home, Secret) 1388, 315.

3. Holderness, T. W., *Narrative of the Famine in India in 1896-97*, p. 53.

4. I. G. I. P., *i*, 90-91.

of its trade and commerce is too obvious to be discussed. And in this respect, as we have already discussed¹, the Panjab was not lucky enough. Nor can we overlook the bad effect of this geographical position on prices in this province. Thus, even as late as 1920, when the means of communication had considerably developed, it was calculated that the cost of carrying the ten bales of cloth from Liverpool to Karachi was less than the cost of carriage from Karachi to Lahore. Thus 5,000 miles of sea was less impediment to trade than 750 miles of land ; and the land locked position of the Panjab tended to diminish its profits from foreign trade both by increasing the price of the imported goods and by decreasing the price received from its exports.²

Yet considering the position of the Panjab in respect of commerce and trade the progress made during the British rule was considerable. At the time of annexation³ the Panjab had practically no trade with the rest of India. It had no surplus agricultural produce to export, and the anarchy which ensued on the death of Ranjit Singh was an effectual barrier to commercial enterprise⁴. Nor were the means of communication good⁵.

Ranjit Singh's policy aimed at excluding British traders from his kingdom, while the earliest efforts of the British Government were directed to opening up the water-way of the Indus. After the annexation, the security afforded to persons and prosperity, the improvement of communication of which the account has been given above, and above all the extension of canal-irrigation, which vastly developed the agricultural resources of the province, gave an impetus to the trade in Panjab.

The development of commerce and trade in the Panjab may conveniently be discussed in two parts : firstly the trade between 1849 and 1877 and secondly that between 1877 and 1901.

(A) The Foreign Trade Between 1849 and 1877. Before 1877 no separation was made between the trade of the Panjab with countries external to British India, and with other British provinces or Indian territories in India. The Foreign States and other provinces with which trade was carried were cis-Sutlej independent states, Kashmir territories (including Jammu) and countries on the north-east frontier, Kabul and

1. See Chapter I.

2. W. W. P., 1922, pp. 58-60.

3. We do not go too far back.

4. I. G. I. P., i, 85.

5. See Trevaskis-The Land of the Five Rivers.

countries on the north-west frontier, Rajputana and Central India, North-West Provinces, Bengal, Bombay, Sindh, and other places.

Nor were the trade returns obtainable before 1877, much reliable. Yet one thing that is clear from the returns is, the fast development of trade between Panjab and the countries mentioned above. For we learn that the total imports and exports of the Panjab which were only worth Rs. 1,72,91,131, and 2,63,37,253 respectively in 1867-68¹, had increased by 1876-77 to respectively 9,62,41,77 and 6,68,49,935².

Imports from the cis-Sutlej States were chiefly grains, oil seeds, sugar spices ; and the exports were salt, rice and sugars. From Kashmir and the north-east frontier the imports were chiefly grain, ghee, fruits and pashmina goods ; and the exports sugars, salt, and cotton cloths. With Kabul and the north-west Frontier, the imports were chiefly fruits and grains ; and the exports salt, sugars tea and cotton clothes. Salt and grains were largely imported from Rajputana and Central India, the exports being grains sugars rice and metals. From the North-Western Provinces were received chiefly sugars, rice and grains, oil seeds and salt were exported thither. To Bangal were sent Pashmina goods and leather ; rice, tobacco and metals forming the imports. The principal articles received from Bombay and Sindh were liquors, metals and cotton cloths ; exports consisting chiefly of salt, cotton, and grains³. The pashmina or shawl trade was declining owing to the decreasing demand in Europe⁴.

The efforts made during this period, to establish commerce with Central Asia alone, demand a special account.

Commerce with Central Asia before 1877. The promotion of trade between the nations north and west of the Himalayas and British India was a subject which had long occupied attention. One of the first acts of the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Panjab was the abolition of frontier customs duties formerly levied by the Sikh Government. This gave a great stimulus to trade, but nothing further of a special character was done beyond the improvement of internal lines of communication from the frontier to Lahore, untill 1860, when measures were taken for obtaining reliable statistics of the existing trade between Yarkand, Kashgar and Bokhara on the one hand, and Russia and British territories on the other, and the routes by which that trade was conducted.

1. A. R. 1867-68, 87.

2. A. R. 1876-77, 89.

3. A. R. 1867-68, 87.

4. A. R. 1875-76, 77.

The enquiries by Mr. Davies showed that there was a great demand for goods of European and Indian manufacture in the region of Central Asia and that wants of Central Asia were practically nearer the sources of supply in India than via Russia, so that the trader in European goods from the side of India would be able to compete successfully with traders from the Russian side.

Encouraged by these information, the Government of Panjab made all possible efforts to improve the means of mercantile communication with eastern and western Turkistan¹. To encourage trade with eastern Turkistan, the reduction of the transit duties levied on goods passing between Yarkand and British territory via Ladakh, to an *valorem* duty of 5 percent, calculated on the invoice price, was effected at the close of 1867; an English agent was appointed at Ladakh for guarding the interests of traders with or from British territory; a route was discovered between the confines of British territory and Yarkand which avoided the difficulties of the Kara Koram pass, and was suitable for camels. Great improvements were made in the road between the confines of the British territory nearest Yarkand and Palampore in the kangra valley. An annual fair was started at Palampore for the interchange of the goods of Europe and India and eastern Turkistan in 1867. And reports from Ladakh in 1867-68 indicated that there was a favourable opening for trade in that quarter, especially in broad cloth, piece-goods and tea².

Heretofore the trade at Leh was in the hands of the agents of the Kashmir Government and petty traders of the adjacent hills. But by 1869 several merchants of substance from the Panjab, encouraged by the reduction of duties and the presence of a British officer at Leh, had embarked in trade with Yarkand³.

The officials of the Maharaja of Kashmir gave their full co-operation to the British authorities in opening out the Changchinnio route for traders between Yarkand and the Panjab and making arrangements for their convenience, it was reported in 1870. At the commencement of the year 1869-70 the rates of transit duty via the Changchinmo were reduced from 5 to 4 percent: and at the close of the year the duties were altogether abolished. The principal articles of import from Yarkand in the

1. To facilitate trade with Western Turkistan a Steam Flotilla was established on the upper Indus, plying between Mukhud and Sukhur, as a feeder to the flotilla of the lower Indus. The Flotilla later on, however, proved uneconomic and was abolished in 1872. See for details A.R. 1860-61 to 1871-72: Mr. Fakir Chand Arora has made a comprehensive study of the subject in his Monograph—Panjab Govt. Record office; Monograph No. 9.

2. A. R. 1867-68, 87-89.; Selection from Records, New Series, No. ii.

3. A.R. 1868-69, 114-115.

year were raw silk, silk fabrics, brick tea ; and from Lahasa, felt rugs and carpets, gold dust and silver ingots. Principal articles of export were Otter skins, cloths, and calicos ; but an increasing demand for indigo and Kangra green tea was reported.

For the merchants of Bokhara, Khokand, Khiva and Western Turkistan, as well as for those of Afghanistan and of countries lying in the north of the Peshawar valley, a fair was opened at Peshawar on the first December 1869 by Major F.R. Pollovk, C.S.I. Commissioner of Peshawar. The first fair continued for 40 days and its results were encouraging. The traders who attended, were with a few exceptions, Kabulis and Peshawaris. The gross value of the articles brought for sale was roughly estimated at Rs. 500,000, and of sales, at Rs. 318,000. The principal sales occurred in the following articles : dried fruits, piece-goods silk, woollen fabrics such as postins, carpets etc., horses and sugar¹.

In 1872 an increase in the import of pasham from Turkistan was reported and satisfaction was expressed over the fact that Kangra tea was becoming in request in Central Asia. It was hoped that if the Himalayan tea succeeded in being established in favour with the tea drinking classes of Turkistan, a sure market would be provided for whatever quantity of tea India would be able to produce for many years to come².

The Peshawar Fair, however, the result of which was reported to be encouraging in 1869 was reported in 1872, to have had a small success, as it did not seem to have been popular with the trader from Afghanistan or Turkistan³.

A noticeable feature of the year 1872-73 was the development of the through traffic from the Panjab by mules, of which 170 proceeded all the way from Jullundur and Hoshiarpur to Ladakh, and as they at once obtained return freight to carry borax to Kulu, the owners' venture was very successful, and it was hoped that it would lead to a large increase in that form of carriage⁴.

The trade registered at Leh during 1873, showed the highest figure yet obtained, as it will be clear from the following figures :—

Year	£
1863	23,604.
1864-66	10,000.

1. A. R. 1866-70.

2. A. R. 1871-72, 175-76.

3. *ibid*, 178.

4. A. R. 1872-73, 103.

1867	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	55,495.
1868	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	103,840.
1869	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	129,154.
1870	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	154,800.
1871	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	124,118.
1872	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	158,480.
1873	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	177,673.

This increase, too, had taken place in the face of two difficulties, the first being the interference of the Yarkand authorities in delaying the starting of the caravans southward until a very late season of the year¹. The second difficulty was a great scarcity of carriage from Leh to Yarkand as several of the karayakashs—a class of carriers between Leh and Yarkand—owing partly to the rigours of the winter journeys which they had for the last few years been compelled to make, and which destroyed a great number of their animals, and partly to their gambling in charas and receiving charas in payment instead of in coin, had been ruined. On the other hand, however, the roads between Ladakh and India both via Kulu and Kashmir were improved and the Kulu mule train which was established in 1870², was reported to be working successfully.

The proportionate amounts of the imports from Yarkand into Leh, where trade was almost entirely transit one, was in 1873 :—

Gold	...	...	...	...	...	...	45 percent.
Pasham	...	...	...	...	...	...	13 „
Charas	...	...	...	...	...	...	12 „
Silk	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 „
Horses	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 „
Coarse cotton goods	...	...	...	...	...	...	3½ „
Silver	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 „
Other goods	...	...	...	...	...	...	7½ „

The proportionate amounts of imports into Leh from India were as follows³ :—

Cotton piece-goods	...	...	...	...	41·0 percent
Tea	...	...	...	...	14·3 „
Brocade, silks etc.	...	...	...	...	11·3 „
Paper etc.	...	...	...	...	7·0 „

1. It was hoped that this impediment to the development of the trade would be removed by the treaty then concluded at Kashgarh.

2. A. R. 1873-74, 69-70.

3. A. R. 1873-74, 70-71.

Indigo	3.3 percent
Otter skins	3.2 „
Sugar	3.0 „
Goat skins	2.7 „
Other goods... ..	13.7 „

In 1875, the prospectus was issued for the formation of a new company to establish wholesale depots of European, Indian and Central Asian goods at Leh, Srinagar and Peshawar, in lieu of sending caravans, because the experience of an English company during that year showed that the circumstances of trade with Yarkand were not favourable for direct commercial dealings by Europeans¹.

Further increase in trade with eastern Turkistan of the value of about 2 lakhs of rupees was reported in 1875-76².

In 1877 it was reported that as eastern Turkistan did not adjoin British territories ; it would not be shown separately. The traffic passed through Kashmir or Ladakh and was included in the table showing the foreign trade of the province³.

(B) Foreign Trade between 1877 and 1901.

In 1876-77, a separation was made between the trade of the Panjab with countries external to British India, and with other British provinces or Indian territories in India. The returns were also made more reliable. The foreign trade according to the new classification was with Kashmir, Ladakh, Chinese Tibet, Bajour, Kabul, Tirah and Suwestan. The Indian provinces were not included in the foreign trade⁴.

Trade with Kashmir. Of all these countries, development of trade with Kashmir during the period is more striking. Chief imports from Kashmir were rice and other grains, ghee, timber, oil seeds, manufactured wool, raw silk, hides and skins, and fruits ; and the chief exports to Kashmir were cotton piecegoods, wheat, metals, tea, sugar, salt and tobacco. The records reveal a steady progress of the trade with Kashmir till it became the most important factor in the entire foreign trade of the province.

Notwithstanding the decline in the shawl trade, as noticed above, an increase both in the weight and value of imports was noticed in 1876-77. This was due to the production of raw silk, of which 371 maunds valued

1. A. R. 1874-75.

2. A. R. 1875-76, 78.

3. A. R. 1876-77, 94.

4. A. R. 1876-77, 89.

at Rs. 222,450, were received into India in 1875-76, while the amount imported during 1876-77 was 2,139 maunds, valued at Rs. 1,465,200. The export trade with Kashmir also showed improvement during the year, as 5,573 maunds of English piece-goods were conveyed into that State, against 4,870 maunds in the previous year¹.

During 1877-78, however, the Kashmir trade was reported to be in a most stagnant condition owing to the depression in the market of pashm goods, the severe famine and the failure of the silk crop. The Maharaja of Kashmir was reported to be endeavouring in London and Paris to create a demand for renowned shawls which seemed to have temporarily gone out of fashion, and the manufacture of which was almost at a stand-still².

Distress in Kashmir continued into the year 1878-79. Imports of silk again fell off considerably, owing chiefly to the destruction of the worms in Kashmir; but the figures under wool and pashm showed a more favourable state of affairs³.

The distress in Kashmir during these years seems to have been very great. For the falling off of imports from Kashmir was in 1878-79 reported to be due in a great degree to the loss of population during the famine, and to the consequent failure of the indigenous manufacture; and to some extent also to the difficulty of procuring carriage at a time when nearly all that was obtainable in the country was employed in transporting grain into the valley. Of the local industries which then were effected, the silk trade had doubtless suffered the most of all, and it was apprehended that it would probably take years to recover the seemingly prosperous condition it had attained before 1878. The shawl trade, too, had fallen away to a mere nothing⁴. Whereas in 1878-79, the import of shawl from Kashmir was worth Rs. 1,816,000 in 1879-80, it was worth only Rs. 862,000⁵.

After a long period of distress, the year 1880-81, once again, brought happiness to the valley. The most marked feature of the year in the Panjab was the very large increase in the export of European piece-goods and one of the chief reasons for this was the cessation of famine in Kashmir. Further it was noticed in the year that the records of the past five years showed that the value of imports from Kashmir had always exceeded the

1. A. R. 1876-77, 92.

2. A. R. 1878-79 (Summary).

3. A. R. 1878-79, 122-123.

4. A. R. 1879-80, 101-102.

5. *ibid*, 103.

value of the exports to Kashmir ; and the total of these five years showed that, the imports exceeded the exports by about 73 lakhs of rupees¹.

The trade with Kashmir showed a further increase in 1881-82. It was, however, regrettable that there was considerable decrease in the imports of raw silk from Kashmir, as it seemed to show that silk-worm breeding was again languishing in that country².

With the improved means of communication effected by the opening of the railway from Wazirabad to Sialkot and from Amritsar to Pathankot, and with the reduction in the rates of carriage which were reported from Rawalpindi, it was hoped in 1883-84 that the Kashmir trade with Panjab had a fair future before it³.

By 1884-85, the trade with Kashmir had reached a more important stage. Of the whole foreign trade of the province in that year nearly one-half took place with Jammu and Kashmir alone⁴.

The trade with Kashmir continued taking lead in the foreign trade of the province, although there were occasional fluctuations in it⁵. The chief feature of the year 1887-88 was an increase in trade with Kashmir by 26 percent as compared with the year before. This was due to the policy adopted by the Kashmir Darbar in remitting taxation on many exports, although the Kashmir import duties still greatly hampered the import trade from the Panjab. The Kashmir in that year was reported to have absorbed more than one-half of the total foreign trade of the province. Of the exports to Kashmir in that year, one-half consisted of piece-goods (European and Indian), the trade in which was rapidly expanding. A large increase in the import of ghee from Kashmir had also taken place. This product now occupied the second place in importance among the imports from Kashmir, the first place being held by shawls. Arrangements in that year were concluded under which Kashmir wines might be imported into the Panjab on payment of duty equal to the sea customs duty payable on similar liquors. It was reported that these wines were likely to find a ready sale in the province⁶.

Of the total foreign trade of the province, the Kashmir trade in 1888-89, represented 56.3 percent⁷. The conversion of the Murree-Kohat

1. A. R. 1880-81, 158.

2. E. L. T. R., 1881-82; A. R. 1881-82, 107.

3. E. L. T. R. 1883-84.

4. E. L. T. R., 1884-85.

5. See A. R. 1885-86 (summary) ; A. R. 1886-87, 93-94.

6. A. R. 1887-88, 96.

7. E. L. T. R. 1888-89.

route into a cart road, and the construction of the Jammu-Sialkot Railway, it was believed, would have still better effect in promoting the trade with Kashmir. A noticeable point in the import trade from Kashmir was that the place hitherto held by shawl as the chief article of import was now taken over by ghee, which during the year was imported into the Panjab to the value of Rs. 1,315,862. Hill ghee was considerably cheaper than that produced in the plains, and it probably was also of better quality in most cases¹.

The trade with Kashmir continued to progress². Increased facilities of communication afforded by the Sialkot-Jammu Railway were exerting a stimulating effect on the commerce with that country³. In 1892-93, however, there was some sickness dues to the prevalence of cholera in Kashmir and the heavy custom due levied by the Kashmir State were also operating in the same direction⁴. The downward trend continued into the year 1893-94⁵. But in 1894-95, once again, an upward trend was noticed. Tea export to Kashmir was reported to be developing which compensated the Panjab planters for the loss of the Kabul market by that year, upto some extent. The trade was, however, still hampered by a very heavy customs duty, but the Darbar in that year had agreed to consider the question of reducing that tax on the expiry of the contract for its collection which was then in force. The encouraging results of the trade in that year were reported to be due to (1) the facility of communication afforded by the cart-road through Kohala. (2) the location of a large number of Europeans and other persons from India in and beyond Kashmir, and (3) agricultural prosperity on either side⁶.

The demand for Indian tea in Kashmir in 1895-96, was reported to be satisfactory⁷. Further progress in trade with Kashmir was noticed in 1896-97⁸ and again in 1897-98. The chief staples of import reported in the latter year were timber, ghee, charas, bullion and fruits, in return for which the Panjab sent Indian and European cotton-goods, tea and iron, brassware and salt⁹. In 1899-1900, a large quantity of grain

1. A. R. 1888-89, 103-104.

2. A. R. 1889-90 (summary); A. R. 1890-91 (summary); E. L. T. R. 1890-91.

3. E. L. T. R. 1891-92; A. R. 1891-92 (summary)

4. A. R. 1892-93, 207-208.

5. A. R. 1893-94 (summary).

6. A. R. 1894-95 (summary) and p. 127.

7. A. R. 1895-96.

8. A. R. 1896-97.

9. A. R. 1897-98, 173.

was imported from Kashmir owing to the famine in the Panjab¹, and a striking feature of the returns of the year 1900-1901 was an enormous increase in the quantity of linseed imported from Kashmir, but ghee continued occupying the important place it was already holding². The trends of the trade between Panjab and Kashmir after 1877, will be more clear from the following figures³.

Trade with Kashmir (in thousands of rupees)

	1880—81	1890—91	1900—1901
Imports	7,022	5,432	12,915
Exports	3,837	5,652	9,564
Total	10,859	11,084	22,479

Trade with Ladakh. The trade with Ladakh was insignificant as compared with the total foreign trade of the province. Charas, borax and ponies were the principal imports from Ladakh, and metals and piece-goods, the chief exports thither. Raw silk, wool and pashm were also imported and tea and cotton goods were exported from the Panjab.

In 1881-82 the trade with Ladakh increased to a certain extent and the amount of charas imported was nearly treble of that imported in 1880-81⁴. With Yarkand and Ladakh the traffic was steadily on the increase, it was reported once again in 1886; the most prominent feature being the increase in the imports of raw silk, wool and pashm and in the export of tea during 1885-86⁵. But in 1888-89, it was reported that the Ladakh trade showed no tendency to expand⁶. An increase, however, was apparent in the value of European cotton goods exported, the value of these exports having reached the figure of Rs. 202,750 in 1888-89 as compared with Rs. 100,320 in 1886-87⁷.

1. A. R. 1899-1900.

2. A. R. 1900-1901, 95.

3. E. L. T. R. 1881-82; I. G. I. P., i. By the year 1880-81 there was a complete cessation of famine in Kashmir.

4. A. R. 1881-82, 107.

5. A. R. 1885-86, 88.

6. E. L. T. R. 1888-89.

7. A. R. 1888-89, 104.

In 1891-92, the proportion which the trade with Ladakh formed of the total foreign trade of the province was only 2.0 percent¹.

The trade with Ladakh increased and in 1898-99, the value of the trade with Ladakh formed 3.8 percent of the whole foreign trade of the province².

During 1899-1900, however, the trade with Ladakh decreased to 2 percent of the whole due to taxation of charas having temporarily dislocated the arrangements for importing the drug³. In 1900-01 further decrease was registered in the Ladakh trade⁴. A general view of the trade after 1877, may be had from the following figures.

Trade with Ladakh (in thousands of rupees)

	1880—81	1890—91	1900—1901
Imports	133	341	419
Exports	311	285	249
Total	444	626	668

Trade with Chinese Tibet. Trade with Chinese Tibet was even more insignificant than that with Ladakh. The chief imports from Chinese Tibet were raw wool and borax and the chief exports cotton piece-goods and metals. Tea was also exported thither.

The total trade with Chinese Tibet in 1880-81 was valued at Rs. 214 thousands⁵. But by 1886-87, this value was further decreased to Rs. 64,564⁶. The prohibition against the import of tea enforced by the Chinese authorities in Yarkand, it was reported in 1888-89, had annihilated a promising trade⁷. In 1891-92 the trade with Chinese Tibet formed only 0.6 per cent of the whole foreign trade of the province⁸. In 1896-97, further decrease in the trade with Chinese Tibet was noticed⁹. In 1898-99,

1. E. L. T. R. 1891-92.

2. A. R. 1898-99.

3. A. R. 1899-1900.

4. A. R. 1900-1901.

5. A. R. 1880-81 (summary)

6. A. R. 1886-87, 97.

7. A. R. 1888-89, 104.

8. E. L. T. R. 1891-92.

9. A. R. 1896-97 (summary)

it occupied only 0.5 percent of the whole¹ and in 1899-1900 it was reduced still further to 0.4 percent of the whole foreign trade of the province². In 1900-1901, this trade showed a tendency to increase, but the signs were not much encouraging³.

Trade with Chinese Tibet (in thousands of rupees).

	1880—81	1890—91	1900—1901
Imports	201	119	216
Exports	13	20	46
Total	214	139	262

Trade with Kabul. Next in importance to that with Kashmir was the trade with Kabul from where the chief imports were fruit, ghee and raw wool and chief exports were piece-goods, rice, leather and sugar. But as the time passed, the Kabul trade began to lose its position and towards the end of the 19th century it became nearly insignificant. A brief account of this decline will here be traced.

As in the case of Kashmir, the year 1876-77 gave some encouraging signs in the trade of Panjab with Kabul. The export trade with Kabul represented some favourable features. European piece-goods, indigo and tea represented chiefly the goods of export from Panjab⁴.

Whole of the export trade of the North-West Frontier in 1877-78, was naturally effected by the complications with the Amir of Kabul, and the unsettled state of the political atmosphere⁵. The effect continued⁶ till 1880-81, when it was noticed that the restoration of tranquility in Kabul was once again responsible for a large increase in the export of the European piece-goods from Panjab. A review of the past five years ending in 1880-81 showed that whereas the value of imports from Kashmir had

1. A. R. 1898-99 (summary)
2. A. R. 1899-1900, (summary)
3. A. R. 1900-1901, 95.
4. A. R. 1876-77 to 92.
5. A. R. 1877-78 (summary)
6. See A. R. 1878-79, p. 123.

always exceeded the value of the exports to Kashmir, in the trade with Kabul the balance had always been the other way. The imports from Kabul during these years fell short of exports by about 130 lakhs¹.

In 1881-82, 85% of the whole foreign trade of the province was represented by Kashmir and Kabul. A falling off in the value of the European piece-goods in the Kabul trade of that year was noticeable, which however was compensated by largely increased exports of the Indian piece-goods and indigo².

In 1883-84, however, a decline in the exports in the Kabul trade was reported to be most marked, and this was the consequence of the prohibitive duties imposed by Russia which prevented the advance of Indian goods beyond the Oxus. This repressive influence was equally felt by the merchants frequenting the Khyber route on the north and the Kurram and Gomal routes on the south⁴. The Peshawar tea trade with Central Asia had suffered severely from these impositions of heavy import duties by the Russians. The import which a camel-load often had to pay on the road from Peshawar to Bukhara amounted to Rs. 240, and it was obvious that the trade could not long survive if it was to be subjected to such crushing taxation⁵. Yet Kabul continued to be a chief market for the export trade of the province and in 1885-86, an increase was noticed in the export thither, the chief staples being piece-goods, indigo and tea. Fruit was imported from Kabul, amount of which fell in 1885 owing to the severe hailstorms which visited Afghanistan in the spring of 1885⁶.

In 1886-87 the total imports from Kabul into Panjab were of the value of Rs. 2,550,062 and the exports Rs. 6,363,490. Further increase in the export of tea to Kabul was noticed⁷.

In 1887-88, however, a falling off was once again observable in the trade with Kabul and the countries on the North-West frontier as compared with the year before. In 1888-89, there was further falling off in trade with the countries on the North-Western frontier, which was now definitely reported to be due rigid exclusion of the English goods enforced by the Russian Government in the countries beyond Afghanistan and partly

1. A. R. 1880-81, p. 158.

2. A. R. 1881-82, p. 107.

3. A. R. 1883-84 (summary).

4. E. L. T. R. 1883-84.

5. A. R. 1881-82, p. 107.

6. A. R. 1885-86, p. 89.

7. A. R. 1886-87, p. 93.

to the taxation to which they were subjected in Afghanistan. The direct evidence under the first head of an English traveller who had just a short time before visited these parts confirmed that view. No doubt even under a system of fair competition the Russian goods, which had the advantage of carriage by rail and were not subject to the heavy transit dues enforced by the Amir of Afghanistan, it was admitted, would gradually oust most other goods from the market. It was, therefore, accepted that the outlet for English and the Indian goods in that direction would have to be practically confined to Afghanistan and the adjoining countries on the north-east¹.

In 1890-91, it was reported that decrease in the trade with Afghanistan was real, and amounted to 23% as compared with the average of the past years².

Besides the Russian fiscal policy and the uncertainties of the dues leviable in the Amir's dominions, the construction of the trans-Caspian Railway was, in 1892, noticed to be another obstacle to any rapid expansion of the trade in that direction³. Yet in 1891-92, Kabul occupied 33.34 per cent of the total trade of the province⁴.

The import trade with Kabul remained stationary in 1892-93, but the export trade fell off further during the year by over 4 lakhs⁵. In 1893-94 the state interference with mercantile business caused a further and decided falling off in trade with Kabul. Yet Kabul continued occupying the second place in the foreign trade of the Panjab⁶.

The trade of the province with Kabul, which in 1889-90 was valued at 112 lakhs amounted in 1894-95 to only 43 Lakhs⁷.

There was a decline in the export of tea to Kabul in 1894-95. Although no additional taxes had been imposed of late, the export of tea to that country declined probably due to stringent measures which, during the past few years, had been adopted by the Amir for realizing the duty. The export of Indian piece-goods to Kabul also fell. Whereas in 1892-93, exports to Kabul were valued at 17 lakhs of rupees, the next year they were worth Rs. 823,000 less, and in 1894-95 only 4 lakhs worth of Indian cloth was exported. The import of horses from Kabul

1. E. L. T. R. 1888-89 ; A. R. 1888-89, p. 103.

2. A. R. 1890-91.

3. A. R. 1891-92.

4. E. L. T. R. 1891-92.

5. A. R. 1892-93, p. 207.

6. A. R. 1893-94.

7. A. R. 1894-95.

also declined due to some special restrictions placed by the Amir¹.

In 1895-96, there was increase of the import of horses from Kabul and demand of the Indian tea in Kabul was reported to be satisfactory. But one of the principal features of the year in the external trade return was an accentuation of the tendency of the Panjab exports to find their way to Central Asia via Kashmir in preference to the Kabul route which latter was blocked by the Russian and Afghan influences².

In 1896-97, the Kabul trade further decreased by 3 lakhs³ and it was remarkable that in 1897-98 as well as in 1896-97 the value of the trade with Bajour considerably exceeded that with the whole of Afghanistan⁴.

During 1898-99, the trade with Kabul showed some increase. Yet the place the Kabul trade had occupied for a long time, was now definitely taken over by the trade with Bajour. The Kabul trade with Punjab now fell to the third position. The first and second being occupied by Kashmir and Bajour respectively⁵.

But the Kabul trade was destined to fall still further and in 1899-1900 and again in 1900-1901 although it continued to occupy the place next to Bajour, it was much behind it in amount and value, and was much less than in the previous year⁶.

Trade with Kabul (In thousands of rupees)

	1880—81	1890—91	1900—01
Imports	2,518	2,073	1,871
Exports	8,630	4,598	2,974
Total	11,148	6,672	4,846

1. Ibid, pp. 127—128

2. A. R. 1895—96.

3. A. R. 1896—97.

4. A. R. 1897—98.

5. A. R. 1898—99.

6. A. R. 1899—1900; A. R. 1900—1901.

Trade with Countries on the North-West Frontier, excluding that with Kabul. The trade with other countries on the North-West frontier namely Bajour, Tirah and Sawestan was not such as to deserve a separate note¹. Bajour alone developed into importance and that too only in the last decade of the 20th century.

The trade with Tirah, it was reported in 1881-82, was quite insignificant. A temporary impulse had been given to that of Bajour by the opening of work on the Swat River canal and by the occasional adoption of that route to Kabul by traders. The trade with Sawestan, it was reported, was never likely to be of any great importance².

The opening of the railways in Baluchistan stimulated the trade with Sawestan and there was a short increase in it in 1886-87³. But the rigid exclusion of the English goods enforced by the Russian Government in the countries beyond Afghanistan and the taxation policy of the Amir of Afghanistan, were effecting the entire trade on the North-West frontier badly, as it was reported in 1889. Yet the trade with Sawestan, which included a large portion of the territory known as the British Baluchistan, had not fallen off to the same extent as that with the other countries on the North-West frontier. The opening of the Pishin road would, it was hoped in 1889, foster traffic in that direction, but the bulk of the export trade, at least with British Baluchistan, would no doubt, it was further hoped, be diverted to the line of the Sind-Pishin Railway⁴.

Of the total foreign trade in 1891-92, Tirah occupied only 0·8. Sawestan 6·2, and Bajour 7·0 percent⁵. In 1892-93, there was further increase of nearly 3 lakhs in the import trade with Bajour, but that with Sawestan showed a falling off of nearly 2 lakhs, which was attributed to a bad season in the hills and to the severity of the winter which impeded communication and interfered materially with the ordinary wool and timber trade⁶.

In 1894-95, a large increase in the number of sheep and goats imported from Sawestan was reported. There was also an increase in the import of charas and fruits from the same country. The resources of Bajour had exhibited an enormous development in trade under the heads "hides of cattle" and "skins of sheep". In 1892-93, the imports

1. They were effected more or less jointly by the circumstances at the frontier.

2. A. R. 1881—82, p. 107.

3. A. R. 1886—87.

4. A. R. 1888—89, p. 103.

5. E. L. T. R. 1891—92.

6. A. R. 1892—93, p. 207.

from that country under the first head valued only Rs. 28,000 while in 1894-95 they were worth no less than Rs. 162,000. The trade in iron with these countries was developing and the European twist and yarn were getting popular with them. In 1894-95, Bajour received about Rs. 318,000 worth of these articles¹.

During 1895-96, there was a fall in the trade in raw cotton and Indian piece-goods to Bajour and Tirah, due in part to the scarcity of transport which had been bought or hired for the Chitral Relief Force².

During 1896-97, due to the opening of the road to Chitral and the peace and security consequently enjoyed by traders and travellers generally, there was a great advance in the trade with Bajour, which increased in value from 47 lakhs to nearly 84½ lakhs. Cotton twist yarn and piece-goods were exported to Bajour, while owing to the scarcity prevailing in the Panjab, there was a large increase in the imports of grain of all kinds from that country³.

The remarkable expansion of the trans-frontier trade noticed in 1896-97 was not, however, maintained in 1897-98. The set-back was due to the frontier troubles and also to the circumstances that the abnormally high prices of the famine year 1896-97 stimulated a brisk import trade in grain. More than half of the falling-off in the year under report occurred in the trade with Bajour, which was interrupted for some months in consequence of the outbreak in Swat. Notwithstanding this interruption, it was remarkable that in 1897-98 as well as in the previous year the value of the trade with Bajour considerably exceeded that with the whole of Afghanistan. It was evident that the inhabitants of the countries opened up by the Chitral road fully appreciated the advantages of peaceful communication with India, and in the absence of the imports which were gradually crushing out Indian trade with the Amir's territories there was every reason to look for an unchecked expansion in the trade over the Malkand Pass⁴.

Some changes of an important nature were introduced in the system of trade registration during this year. Sawestan, British Baluchistan and the Zhob country, which were now within the sphere of British influence, could no longer be considered foreign territories, and the trade with these countries was no longer registered as foreign trade⁵.

1. A. R. 1894-95, p. 127.

2. A. R. 1895-96.

3. A. R. 1896-97.

4. A. R. 1897-98.

5. F. L. T. R. 1897-98.

Bajour recovered greatly during 1898-99 and the trade with that country during the year was 23 percent of the whole in value. Bajour had now developed a position in the foreign trade of the Panjab, second only to Kashmir¹.

During 1899-1900, the amount and value of import and export from and to Bajour was nearly double of that of the previous year owing partly to improved registration and partly to the stimulus to imports given by the famine in the Panjab. There was also a marked increase in the trade with Tirah, but the value yet formed only 1.5 percent of the whole². As a matter of fact the trade with Tirah increased throughout the triennium ending into 1900-1901, by leaps and bounds. This increase was attributed to the campaign of 1897-98, which had the somewhat unexpected effect of showing the Afridis the advantages offered by the Panjab market for the disposal of the products of their country. Yet the proportion of the Tirah trade with the whole of the foreign trade of Panjab, was only small.

The trade with Bajour continued to prosper. There was a decrease of some 17 lakhs in 1900-1901, but it was too slight to be considered as a break in the continuity of what could be considered as a most satisfactory revival. The trade with Boner, formerly amalgamated with that of Bajour, amounted to 9 lakhs in 1900-01, the first year in which it had been shown separately³.

TRADE WITH TIRAH AND BAJOUR (In thousands of rupees)

		1880-81	1890-91	1900-01
TIRAH	Imports	62	92	480
	Exports	61	109	430
	Total	124	201	911
BAJOUR	Imports	427	934	3,508
	Exports	577	934	6,458
	Total	1,004	1,868	9,966

1. A. R. 1898-99.

2. A. R. 1899-1900.

3. A. R. 1900-01.

TRADE WITH SEWESTAN (In thousands of rupees)

	1880-81	1890-91	1896-97 ¹
Imports	232	704	734
Exports	591	722	880
Total	823	1,426	1,614

THE TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE

The total foreign trade of the province which was valued at Rs. 246 lakhs in 1880-81 had decreased to 194 lakhs in 1885-86. By 1890-91 it had again increased to 221 lakhs and in 1895-96, it was 248 lakhs. In 1896-97 the total was valued at 308 lakhs of rupees. During 1897-98, the total declined again to 255 lakhs. During 1898-99 the rail-borne traffic to and from Jammu which was registered as foreign trade for the first time, increased the total valued to 322 lakhs of rupees; but excluding this rail-borne traffic the total was nearly 284 lakhs. The total foreign trade registered during 1900-1901 was valued only at 250 lakhs.

(c) Trade Between Panjab and Other Provinces and Territories in the British India after 1877 (excluding that with Kabul and Ladakh).

Only a short account need be given of the interprovincial trade which after 1880-81 was returned as Rail-borne trade and the River-borne trade. Major portion of this trade was carried only by rail. With the development of the railways, the River-borne trade showed a continuous tendency to fall.

Three years after the separation of the Panjab trade with other British province or Indian territories in India, from that with the countries external to British India in 1876-77, an effective system of the registration of interprovincial trade in Panjab was introduced. This was an arrangement for the collection of statistics of the trade along the principal routes connecting the chief towns and commercial centres, which was done by a system of blocks arranged as follows :—

1. After 1896-97 Sawestan was excluded from the Foreign trade list (see above)

Blocks outside the Panjab

1. North-Western Provinces and Oudh.
2. Rajputana via Agra.
3. Bengal.
4. Howrah.
5. Central Provinces.
6. Great Indian Peninsula Railways, and connected lines.

Blocks in the Panjab

1. The City of Delhi.
2. Jagadhari to Lahore.
3. Meean Meer West to Sher Shah and Muzaffarabad Junction.
4. Panjab Northern State Railway.
5. Indus Valley State Railway and Sind stations on the Sind, Panjab and Delhi Railways.

It was considered that by this arrangement of territorial blocks, and providing the means of registering the trade passing from one to another, more useful returns would be obtained than if they showed, or merely attempted to show, what entered and left the province by all the lines of communication between it and other provinces or Indian States.

The chief trade route between the Panjab and the other provinces in 1879-80 was the East Indian Line of Railway¹.

During 1885-86, some further changes was introduced in the system of registration under which the whole of the Panjab was treated as one block for the purposes of recording rail-borne trade and in place of returns for the provincial municipalities, the traffic of a few selected railway stations, comprising all the out trade centres of the Panjab, was separately registered².

The North-Western Provinces (U.P.) and Oudh stood as the most important of the external blocks both in regard to exports and imports³. Of the sea ports in connection with the trade of the Panjab, Karachi was obviously the natural port. It occupied a position scarcely less favourable in commerce than that of Alexandria⁴. There was a strong tendency of trade to run towards Karachi; it being the natural route, if the surplus produce of the Panjab was to go out to other countries. It

1. A. R. 1879-80, pp. 103-104.

2. A. R. 1885-86, p. 104.

3. A. R. 1892-93, p. 210 · A. R. 1894-95, p. 131.

4. Andrew, W. P.—Indus and its Provinces, p.49.

developed its position, particularly with the development of the export trade in wheat, at the expense of Bombay and Calcutta and by 1901, it had occupied the foremost position among the sea ports in connection with the trade of Panjab.

Wheat, raw cotton, oil seeds, hides, raw wool, and a certain amount of inferior grains went to Karachi, in exchange for cotton and woollen piece-goods, sugar, metal and railway plant and rolling stock. The trade with the other sea port towns was on the same lines. Bombay took a large amount of raw cotton, and sent silk, tea and tobacco. Hides and skins, leather, dyes and tans went largely to Calcutta, whence came a great deal of the wearing apparel, jute, and woollen piece-goods. Cotton and Woollen manufactured goods were exported to the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), which sent sugar, coal and coke (from Bengal), ghi, gram, and pulse¹ in return.

General Character of the Trade. The principle articles of inter-provincial trade, as noticed in 1876-77 were² :—

Imports

Cattle
Twist and yarn, European
Ditto.....Indian
Drugs, all kinds, including opium
Dyeing materials, all kinds
Gunny bags
Fruits and nuts.
Grains of all kinds
Leather and manufactures of leather.
Liquors.
Metals and manufactures of metals.
Opium.
Ghi.
Salt.
Silk and silk manufactures
Spices.
Sugar, refine
Tea, foreign.
Tobacco.

Exports

Cotton raw
Cotton piece-goods, European
Ditto.....Indian
Drugs, all kinds, excluding opium
Dyeing materials, all kind
Fruits and nuts
Grains of all kinds.
Hides and skins.
Leather and manufactures of leather.
Ghi.
Salt.
Saltpetre.
Oil seeds.
Silk and silk manufactures
Spices.
Sugar, refine.
Sugar, unrefined.
Tea, Indian.
Wool, raw.

1. I. G. I. P., i, pp. 87-88.

2. A. R. 1876-77, p. 92.

But the main sources of the wealth of the Panjab, towards the end of the 19th century, lay in the export of wheat, the development of which was a remarkable feature of the British rule. A short history may here be traced of the development of this trade.

The Wheat Trade. In his letter dated 15th August, 1848, John Lawrence the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Trans—Sutlej States had reported that the soil of the Trans—Sutlej territory (except in the Kangra Valley, where it was stiff) though light and sandy to the eye was extremely fertile. But the territory, he added, for many reasons would not export wheat to Europe. In the first place, there was abundant demand for its produce at and near home. The expense, trouble and uncertainty of so long a journey as that to Bombay, would, in his opinion, deter traders from attempting the experiment, even with the advantage of water-carriage by the Sutlej and Beas. Supposing, he calculated, that it was bought up for exportation at 12 per quarter, at which price it could readily be procured in ordinary seasons at harvest time, and that we allowed 16 Shillings for the sea voyage, it would be landed in England at 44 Shillings the quarter, which with the profit of trade superadded, would hardly, he apprehended, make it to compete with the wheat from Russia and Poland¹. But this was a conclusion, which the actual experience in the field, was going to contradict.

By the year 1875, wheat had not yet developed the importance it was destined to do in the later years and in that year it was reported only as one of the principal exports of the province². But in 1882, the most noticeable feature of the year to be reported in regard to trade was the large increase in the export of wheat, which then amounted to 7½ million maunds, and showed an increase over the figures of the two previous years of about 40 percent. It was probable, the report added, that there was a future for the Panjab wheat in the annals of trade, and the effect upon the trade of the further development of railway which had by then connected Panjab with the sea ports, would no doubt be considerable³.

In its issue dated 4th June 1883, Koh-i-nur from Lahore, suggested that no one should be allowed to export grain from one province to another province, or to a foreign country without previously obtaining special permission from the Local Government, which should not accord permission unless there were stocks of grains sufficient for the require-

1. Home, 1848, Revenue, Agri., 23rd Sept., 4/17 ; A.

2. A. R. 1874—75.

3. A. R. 1881—82.

ments of the province for three or four years¹.

Yet in 1886, it was reported that the export of wheat had trebled in the past three years, the total reaching in 1885-86 the high figure of 15 million maunds, which again, was 50 percent higher than the figure of 1884-85²; and the Financial Commissioner was indeed at a loss to understand where did all the surplus wheat which was thus exported come from, as the increase in the area under that crop in the Panjab had been very gradual³.

In 1887 the volume of the entire import of cotton goods in the province was reported to be depending upon the export of two things from Panjab, namely oil seeds and wheat. Because abundance of export resulted naturally in the abundance of money, which in turn lead to large purchases of cotton goods such as had taken place in the year immediately preceding that under report. In the year 1886-87 there was a decrease in the export of wheat and oil seeds and the result was a decreased import in cotton goods⁴.

In 1888, once again, there was a decrease in imports and now it was reported that the depressed state of export trade in wheat due to poor crops which had fallen from 75 to 19½ lakhs of rupees, was the only cause for this⁵. The imports in the year 1885-86, as reported in 1889 were the largest, being of the value of Rs. 91,278,802, and that was a year of abnormal activity in trade consequent upon the enormous quantity of wheat which was exported to Europe⁶. Due to favourable seasons in 1891-92, 1894-95 and 1898-99, the export of wheat increased to an enormous extent. In 1898-99, the export of wheat, owing to a strong European demand and a good rabi harvest, reached a value of nearly 278 lakhs, and this was the highest yet returned except in the year 1891-92, after having sunk very low during the two years of scarcity⁷.

This increase in the export of wheat was so big that some of the papers in the Panjab protested against it⁸. *Ataliq-Hind*, *Paisa Akhbar*,

1. Home, Secret, N. P. R. Panjab etc., 1883 p. 555; Later on in the same year, however, *Koh-i-nur* itself printed a letter on the other side and *Naya Sudha*, *Oudh Akhbar*, and some others expressed their satisfaction at the trade and protested against any restriction. Home, 1882, Public, May 3/4, B.

2. A. R. 1885-86.

3. Panjab Internal trade Report 1885-86.

4. A. R. 1886-87 p. 94.

5. A. R. 1887-88 pp. 97-98.

6. A. R. 1888-89, p. 105.

7. See report on the Rev. Adm. Panjab, 1892-93; A. R. 1891-92; A. R. 1894-95; A. R. 1897-99.

8. See Home, 1893. Public, May, 125-126, part B.

Patiala Akhbar, Rahbra-i-Hind and Akmal-ul-Akhbar, seemed to be foremost in this respect. Thus when in 1891-92, 550,911 tons of wheat (the largest ever exported during the British rule in the 19th century) was exported from Panjab, Ataliq-i-Hind protested in strong words. Giving an account of the distress prevailing in various parts of the country, observed the paper in its issue dated 22nd December 1891 that Government did not prohibit the export of wheat as such action would interfere with the principles of Free Trade. This, according to the paper, was against the customs and usages of the country, according to which, the Government claimed to rule the Indians. It was true that the people of England would oppose any restrictions being imposed on free trade in grain, and that the Government could not afford to treat their opposition with indifference, yet the Government, it added, must bear in mind that it was bound to look to the welfare of the people committed to its charge. The Ataliq urged the Government to allow the export of only the surplus produce of the country.

Difficulties in the Wheat Trade. It was only during the few years ending in 1885 that the importance of the Panjab wheat trade had increased. Panjab wheat was second to none in the world, and the special attention of the principal English wheat firms and Indian Chambers of Commerce, as well as of the Local Government and administration was naturally directed to the whole subject of the export of this article. But there were certain disadvantages under which the trade suffered in Panjab.

The chief drawback was the dirty condition in which the grain was usually purchased. The enquiry made by Colonel Wall, in the year, showed that the Panjab cultivator could not be justly charged with purposely adulterating wheat by the admixture of dirt. It was, however, the carelessness and cunning of the village trading class, which was responsible for this. The accounts from Ludhiana showed that the wheat was deliberately watered and mixed with dirt, and it was stated that in certain villages of the Ferozepore district the Chamars made it a trade to supply different coloured earths to suit the colour and size of the different kinds of grains and the earth was worked into small grains in such a way that it was almost impossible to winnow it out.

Another drawback was the requirement, for the development of the wheat trade, of the opening of railways and roads as feeders to the main system of the province. The condition of the provincial finances made it difficult to remedy this drawback.

Yet, many efforts were made towards the development of the means of communication in the Panjab. Certain impediments in transport of wheat through railways were removed. Publication of forecast showing every year the area under wheat cultivation, the condition of the young plant, and the probable yield of grain for the purpose of telegraphing it to England ; were ordered by the Government of India. The Government of Panjab took many other steps to facilitate the development of the export trade in wheat¹.

But the character of the middle man, who was responsible for adulterating the wheat in Panjab, could not be improved. On the contrary, it was reported in 1895 that there had occurred a great deterioration during some years before in the quality of the Panjab wheat purchased for export to the European markets². And the things continued till the end of the century.

Next to wheat, raw cotton was the principal export during the last decade of the country ; and besides wheat inferior grains were exported on a large scale, chiefly to Southern Europe. During the ten years 1891-1900 the value of the agricultural produce exported exceeded that of the amount imported by an average of nearly 438 lakhs a year, a sum which considerably exceeded the total land revenue, with cesses and irrigation rates, levied in the province.

Among the imports, cotton piece-goods, European and Indian, stood first. The imports of the former fluctuated greatly, Valued at 218 lakhs in 1890-91, they had fallen to 190 lakhs in 1901-02. Indian made piece-goods, however, tended to oust the European, the imports of the former having increased more than two fold between 1891 and 1901. In the case of twist and yarn this tendency was even more marked. The other considerable imports were iron and steel, sugar, wool (manufactured), gunny bags and cloth, dyes and tans, and liquors. Wheat and grain were also imported in times of scarcity. The well-to-do classes in the Panjab consumed wheaten bread, particularly in the last decade of the century, even when wheat was at famine prices, and were not content with a cheaper grain. Hence the imports of wheat varied inversely with the out-turn of the local wheat harvest. In the prosperous years 1898-99 the value of the wheat imported was only 6 lakhs ; the poor harvest of 1899-1900 raised it to 19 lakhs and the scarcity continuing into 1900-01, to over 41 lakhs. The import statistics of the coarse and cheaper food grains, such as gram and pulse, were an index to the purchasing power of

1. For details see Rev. Agri. 1885, Agriculture, Sept. 58, B.

2. Rev. Agri. 1895. Agri.; July 1 and 2, A. File No. 73 of 1895.

the poorer classes. Less than $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in value in 1898-99, the imports of these grains exceeded 87 lakhs in 1899-1900 falling to 39 lakhs in 1900-01. The figures show that in periods of acute distress the poorer classes were compelled to fall back on inferior grains until better harvest and lower prices permitted them to resume their wheaten diet¹.

The trade by Rail and River of the Panjab with other Provinces and States excluding Kashmir and Ladakh (in thousand of rupees).

	1881—82	1890—91	1900—01
Imports	... ..	89,844	129,227
Exports	... ..	* 71,586	99,963
Total	15,9,742	161,430	229,190

1. A. R. 1900—1901, pp. 95—98 ; I. G. J. P., i. pp. 85—86 ; Also see other Admn. Reports of the period, particularly summary given on the first few pages of each.

CHAPTER X

The Financial System

“A factory has its engine-house, in which is placed the prime mover, the steam or electric engine that supplies power to all other machines. So in the State also there is an engine-house. It is the Financial Department or the Treasury ; and in that is placed the financial engine which keeps all the machines of the Government at work, turning revenue into public services, just as steam-engine turns coal into power¹.”

The financial resources and expenditure of a Government obviously effect intimately the rate and direction of economic development as a whole. A sketch must, therefore, be given of the structure and development of the finances in the Panjab and of their relation to the general economic development.

(1)

REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER THE SIKHS

Under the Sikh rule revenue was realized from all known sources of taxation direct and indirect. Land, house, persons, manufactures, imports and exports, alike contributed to the income of the Khalsa under Ranjit Singh².

Land Revenue. The most important source of revenue under the Sikhs as under the British rule, however, was the land revenue. The Sikh Government most frequently took its land revenue in the form of a share of the crop, an arrangement which proportioned the assessment very satisfactorily to the quality of the harvest, but was attended by much friction and dishonesty³. In the Panjab between the Indus and the Sutlej, except in the territory governed by Diwan Sawan Mal, the State claimed from one-third to two-fifths of the crop, but for land with natural advantages as much as one half was taken, and the

1. Young E. Hiron, In a forward to the 'Financial System of India'.—Gyan Chand.

2. I. G. I. P. Vol. I, p. 105.

3. I. G. I. P., vol. XX, p. 339.

villages had to bribe the appraising officers to take less. The rates in the Cis-Sutlej States were lower on the whole. The demand was increased by the levy of numerous cesses. Practically no margin was left for rent, and quod revenue cultivators of all classes were in a large part of the country treated alike, except a few leading men in each village. Cash assessments were occasionally made, the most famous being the very equitable one introduced by Rup Lal in the two plain districts of Jullundur Doab, which he governed from 1832 till Ranjit Singh's death in 1839¹.

The land revenue system under Diwan Sawan Mal requires a special attention. Diwan Sawan Mal who governed the territory embracing the present districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan, and parts of Montgomery, Jhang, and Dera Ismail Khan, following the example of the Mohammedan rulers who preceded him in Multan, levied a fixed cash assessment on each upland well. For wells and jhalars in the riverain tracts leases for a fixed cash demand were sometimes given, but even then the finest crops, such as cane or indigo, had special rates. A normal well area was fixed according to the circumstances of each locality, and any cultivation in excess of that limit was charged at a fixed money rate per bigha. In some places the demand varied according to the number of oxen employed on the well and was remitted when the well was deserted. For flooded lands a moderate share of the produce was taken in kind or occasionally cash crop rates were charged. The share of the State was pitched especially low in the case of new cultivation. The Diwan's system suited the country and the British Government followed him at some places².

Excise and customs under Ranjit Singh. For the purpose of excise and customs the whole country was threaded with a net work of preventive lines. These lines were dotted with innumerable posts for the collection of every kind of tax, direct and indirect. At the same set of stations, excise and custom taxes, town duties, transit duties, capitation imposts and artizan fees, were all levied. The principle was to extract taxation from every thing indiscriminately. No distinction was made between domestic and foreign industry, between articles of indigenous and extraneous production, between manufacture at home and abroad. The artizans of Lahore and Amritsar were taxed, together with the gold smiths and iron mongers of Kabul. The silks of Multan, and the clothes of the Panjab were no less dutiable than the cotton goods of Central Asia. The cotton, indigo and the sugar of the Panjab had to

1. S. M., p. 19.

2. *ibid*, pp. 20—21.

pay an excise about equal in amount to the custom levied on the same produce imported from Hindustan. Nor was salt the only necessity of life subject to taxation ; ghee, tobacco, all the poor man's luxuries, were placed under contribution. No article, home or foreign, could traverse the kingdom in its length or breadth, nor could it enter any great market without paying duty a dozen times over. Those inequalities in prices, which must always be created by distance, were aggravated by this perpetually recurring taxation. The inhabitants of the Suttlej states, if they wished to procure the products of Kabul, had to bear not only the additional cost of transit, but also the burden of inland duties ; in fact the one increased *pari passu* with the other.

These taxes were of course quite distinct from the land-tax and its accessories. Yet many agricultural commodities of domestic production were made exciseable after having already paid their full share to the State, in the share of land-tax¹.

Sikh Management of the salt revenue. Salt which was one of the forty-eight articles liable to customs, town or transit duties, requires a special notice. There was no systematic management for salt revenue, and no fixed scale of duties. The cis-Indus mines were farmed out to individuals of rank and eminence. The farmer, as long as he paid in the amount of his contract, enjoyed a monopoly of the sale. He was under no restriction as regards time, place or price. He might sell, whole-sale or retail, at the mine or at distant markets. He might regulate his proceedings by the state of prices, and the demand ; or if he preferred, he might load up the salt in depots and entrepôts².

By degrees, considerable laxity crept into this system; the farmers allowed the merchants to carry off immense consignments of salt at a nominal price, after giving bonds for the duty, which amount was to be paid up after the disposal of the commodity. Thus the mercantile community fell heavily into debt with the state contractors, who in their turn, eventually fell into arrears with the Lahore exchequer. Also during the declining years of the Sikh supremacy, it became customary to grant assignments on the salt revenue, and the privilege of taking and disposing of salt, duty free, to court favourites and religious characters ; and this practice introduced still further derangement into the fiscal operations.

But the system, thus prescribed, was prejudicial rather to the State

1. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, pp. 108—109.

2. *ibid* p. 111 ; I. G. I. P. pp. 115—116 ; I. G. I., vol. XX, p. 348.

revenue than to the interest of the consumer. It certainly had a tendency to keep down prices. The farmers for the sake of their own remuneration watched the state of the market, the rise and fall of prices ; and accommodated the supply to the demand ; and the device of special grants, just alluded to brought quantity of untaxed salt into competition with that which had already contributed to the farmer's revenue.

The trans-Indus mines were managed differently, or rather were not managed at all. They were held by the fierce mountaineers of Kohat ; no speculator would be rash enough to set up a concern there ; and even the Government would have to collect its revenue with the sword ; so the matter was compromised by surrendering the mines to some local chieftains, on the payment of a small annual tribute ; but the salt when in transit, was liable to town duties at Peshawar and other cities¹.

Under this system, however, the country was, on the whole, prosperous. Every Jat village sent recruits to the Sikh army who remitted their savings to their homes, and many a heavily assessed village thus paid half its land revenue from its military sources².

From land revenue Ranjit Singh raised 165 lakhs of rupees partly in cash and partly or mostly in kind. From excise he realised 2 lakhs³.

(2)

REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

After the annexation, the British Government changed the entire revenue system of the Panjab. The chief items of receipt, as declared in the first Administration Report, were to be the land-tax and its accessories, such as grazing-tax, proceeds of gardens, forests, gold washing, and iron mines. The next item was composed of excise on salt, and on drugs and liquors, the stamp duties and canal water rent. The third item of tribute was insignificant, consisting mainly of feudal aid paid by jagirdars. The fourth item was the Post Office revenue. The fifth was entitled miscellaneous, and comprised all sums not included under the above categories : such as judicial fines, fees on the serving of writs, proceeds from prison labour, from the confiscated property and presents.

All heads, except the "miscellaneous", belonged to the head of ordinary revenue, though they were of course liable to fluctuation. But several sums belonging to the "miscellaneous" heading, especially the confiscation

1. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, pp. 111—112.

2. I. G. I. P. p. 106, A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 109 ; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 339.

3. I. G. I. P., p. 106 ; A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 161.

proceeds and the realization of arrears, were extraordinary, and were, moreover, in their nature, only fugitive and precarious¹.

It is necessary here, however, to discuss only the most important of the items of receipt.

LAND REVENUE

Land revenue had been of outstanding importance in India not only because, in the 19th century, it provided a large proportion of the total revenue, but also because of the part played by it in the general administration of the country, the controversies that had raged around the principle underlying land settlement and assessment, and because it was the chief means by which the agricultural classes contributed towards the expenses of the Government².

Without entering into the controversy whether land revenue was a tax or rent, we may here accept the view expressed in the Land Revenue Act, XVII of 1887, Section 12, that it was the first charge upon the rent, profit, or produce of an estate or holding, and until it had been paid, they could not, without the previous consent of the collector, be taken in execution of a decree obtained by any private creditor³.

Fixed cash assessment. It was to maintain the tradition imported from the North-Western Provinces that the British Government levied the revenue in the form of a fixed cash assessment, payable from year to year independently of the character of the harvest. This form of revenue was, in most parts of the country, a considerable relief to the people after the harassment of the Sikh System, and ever since, it remained the predominant part of assessment in the province. Subsequently, however, it became clear that, in dealing with a people who saved little from one year to another, an assessment of a fixed character caused a good deal of hardship where the harvest varied greatly in character; and it, therefore, became gradually more usual, especially on river-side areas and in rainless tracts of the western Panjab, to assess the land by a cash acreage rate on the crops of each harvest, so that the revenue could fluctuate with the area actually cropped.

Share of the produce taken. The first rough assessments aimed at obtaining the money value of a share of a gross produce approximating to that obtained by the Sikh revenue proper, after excluding its superfluous cesses⁴. No minute valuation was resorted to; it was first

1. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, pp. 152—153.

2. Anstey, Vera, p. 374.

3. S. M., p. 1.

4. I. G. I. P., pp. 111—112; I. G. I. vol. XX, pp. 344—345.

calculated that one-third of the gross produce was a fair share for the Government revenue when prices were low ; but this was soon reduced to one-fourth : and as more detailed information became available, it became usual to look upon one-sixth of a gross produce as a fair standard of assessment¹. This could be calculated without difficulty for the grain crops, and was valued at leniently calculated average harvest prices². Later on, however, when land became more valuable and letting to tenants more common, as also when rental methods were fully organised and many minutes on North Western settlements had appeared, it became and then continued to be the rule to assess on the net rather than on the gross assets. Major John Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, reduced the standard there to about one half of the net assets in 1855 and this in Panjab was, a few years later, accepted as a matter of course³. When the Act of 1871 was passed, this idea or principle was still more prominently brought forward⁴. Rules for assessment were first formulated in 1873. They were approved by the Government of India. The standard distinctly declared was not to exceed the "estimated value of half the net produce of an estate, or, in other words one-half of the share of the produce of an estate ordinarily receivable by the landlord either in money or in kind." The importance of the produce estimate in a country where land owners as a rule divided the crops with their tenants, was emphasized, while at the same time the weight to be given to general consideration was admitted⁵. Assessment instructions under section 49 of the Act of 1887 superseded those which had been in force since 1873. In 1888 an assessment circular was issued, introducing certain changes in the system, but the rate of assessment continued to be the same⁶. It became a rule to assume, as in the United Provinces, that the normal competition rates paid on rented lands were a fair index to the net assets of the proprietors generally. In the rare cases where the competition rents were ordinarily paid in cash, there was little further difficulty ; but in the more usual cases of kind-rents the value of the net 'assets' could be arrived at only after a number of elaborate and somewhat uncertain calculations as to prices, yield, &c. Although, therefore, the standard of assessment was represented, as in the United Provinces, by one-half of the net 'assets',

1. L. S. B. I. p. 571 ; I. G. I. P. p. 112 ; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 345.

2. L. S. B. I. p. 571.

3. *ibid*, pp. 572—573 ; I. G. I. P., 112 ; S. M., p. 25 ; I. G. I. vol. XX p. 345.

4. S. M. p. 34 ; L. S. B. I. p. 573.

5. S. M. p. 34 , L. S. B. I. p. 573.

6. L. S. B. I. p. 578 ; S. M. pp. 41—43.

this standard was not, as in those provinces, looked on as determining the average assessment, but as fixing a maximum which should not be exceeded¹.

The Panjab agriculturists, as repeatedly reported by the Panjab Government, were honest and the resort to coercive processes in the realization of the revenue was very rare².

Water advantage revenue appeared for the first time in the account in 1869-70. Under the first methods of assessment, the canal-watered villages were mostly assessed with a general rate, of which a fraction was credited to the canal revenue account. But, afterwards, a rule was uniformly adopted which had first been used in Mr. Edward Princep's Settlements (1862-68). The land was assessed on its ordinary or 'dry' aspect, apart from the well or canal, and then they added what was called a water advantage rate. It was paid by acreage-rates on the area actually irrigated in each year. The canal Act of 1873 recognized assessment in that form and since then the rule remained in force. This rate was separate from the rate charged for the use of water as a commodity³.

Over and above the Imperial Revenue demand were the cesses which were calculated on the land revenue but were separate from it. They were levied either under special Acts, or in virtue of agreements at the time of settlement, or in accordance with the long-standing usage, and spent on objects immediately benefiting the district or village from which they were raised⁴.

Excise and Customs. Before the Panjab was annexed to the British Empire, the British Resident there had already resolved on remodelling the system of excise and customs in the country. The reformation was planned on the principles that while foreign and imports trade was a fair object of taxation, internal trade should be set free; that the produce of the country should be sold in the country without the imposition of duties; that the native born subjects of the State should pursue their trades and professions without the taxation of imports; that agricultural produce which had already contributed to the land revenue should, as much as possible, be exempt from further taxation; that those articles, which were to remain dutiable, should pay a consolidated tax on one line and no other; that the whole country, instead of being cut up into endless

1. I. G. I. P. p. 112; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 345.

2. R. R. A. 1859-61; R. R. A. 1861-62.

3. L. S. B. I. p. 575; A. R. 1869-70 p. 35.

4. A. R. 1872-73, p. 44; S. M. pp. 45-51.

fiscal divisions, should be enriched with a single line ; and that the salt revenue should be placed on a more certain basis.

Details of the changes introduced. To enforce the principles into practice, duties were abolished on twenty-seven articles and they were reduced on another nine articles. The portion of duty which was retained fell mainly on importation. The only exportation restricted was that on the Indus Frontier. All the interior lines were swept away and the town and transit duties were abolished. The three general frontier lines were kept up, one along the Indus, to intercept goods coming from the west ; another along the Beas and the Sutlej, for goods chiefly British, coming from the east, and the third, running along the base of the Himalayan range, to meet the imports from Kashmir and Jammu.

Financial effects of the changes. The province of Multan was exempted from these arrangements, which might otherwise have interfered with the existing pledge between Mulraj, the Governor, and the Regency. Thus, remissions and reductions being taken together, taxes amounting to upwards of six lakhs of rupees had been abandoned. To compensate in parts for this deficit, three plans were adopted, namely the imposition of one new duty and the remodelling of two existing duties. A moderate toll on ferries was to be introduced, and thus an extra lakh of rupees was to be gained. The excise on drugs and spirituous liquors was to be improved by a system of licences, and was thus to produce nearly a lakh in addition to its former yield. The salt revenue was to be reformed. A fixed duty of two rupees on the Panjabi maund was to be demanded from the merchants at the mines. But these duties were to be levied by a new contractor, who was to bear the cost of management and collection, and pay to the State an annual revenue of six lakhs ; thus on the former out-turn of four lakhs an increase of two lakhs was obtained. Moreover, punctuality of payment was ensured. No alteration was made in the management of the trans-Indus mines.

In this way, of the original deficit of six lakhs, nearly four lakhs was made good, and the net sacrifice of revenue amounted to a little more than two lakhs. The Lahore Council gladly agreed to sacrifice so slight an amount of revenue and the revised budget accordingly took effect during the year 1847, with the approbation of all parties.

The system, therefore, started with the fairest promise of success, but disturbing forces were in preparation. In 1848, the Multan rebellion

broke out. Towards the close of the year, the cis-Indus mines and the great north-west line fell into the hands of insurgents. And the salt depots of Ramnagar were pillaged by the rebel army.

Custom lines as they stood at annexation. Thus in 1849, when the Panjab was annexed, there were six descriptions of duty for the Board's consideration. First the duties on the Indus; secondly, those on the Jammu line; thirdly those on the Beas line; fourthly, the unrepealed duties in the Multan province; fifthly, the duties recently imposed or remodelled on the advice of the Resident viz., the excise on salt and spirits and the ferry tolls; and sixthly there was the British customs line running through the trans and cis-Sutlej states, taxing salts, cotton, and sugar on importation, and also sugar on exportation¹.

Upon annexation, as according to the recommendations of the Board of Administration, all the existing lines were abolished. The Multan duties were repealed, but the ferry tolls and spirit excise were to be retained. The British Government at once took over the management of the cis-Indus and Kalabagh mines. An excise duty of Rs. 2 per Company's maund was levied at the mines, in lieu of all charges, to which the salt was allowed to pass free throughout the British dominion, subject only to the additional duty of 8 annas a maund levied on all salt crossing the branch customs line established for the protection of the Bengal revenue. The duty imposed was considerably higher than the prices charged by the farmers for salt under the Sikh Government, but articles except salt and liquors were exempted from excise, customs, and transit duties. The Imperial customs line was at the same time extended along the Sutlej and the Panjab to the Indus at Mithankot, and a preventive line was established on the Indus to exclude Kohat salt from the cis-Indus portion of the province. The manufacture of alimentary earth-salt in the cis-Indus Panjab was also prohibited. Salt crossing the customs line into the cis-Sutlej Panjab from Rajputana was liable to the duty in force in the United Province, of Rs. 2 a maund².

At the same time much was done by the Civil Engineer to improve the excavation, and to facilitate the working of those mines.

Special rules regarding the trans-Indus salt. Similar changes were to be introduced into the management of the trans-Indus mines. But, on the political and social considerations previously alluded to, it was resolved to impose a light duty of two annas a maund at the

1. Foreign Political—1848, 23 Sept.=98; A.R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, p. 112 to 116.

2. Foreign, Political, 3 Jany. 1851=75; I. G. I. P. p. 116; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 348; A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, pp. 116—117; Foreign Political, 18, August 1849, 58—60.

Bahadur Khel mines. Certain perquisites were allowed to Khawaja Mohamed Khan, the local Kutuk chieftain, with a view to reconciling the hill chiefs to the new system. But the line, which ran along the Indus, prevented this lightly taxed salt from under-selling the produce of the cis-Indus mines.

One new tax was recommended, namely the Stamp duty, to be fixed and realized, but at half rates, in the same manner as in the older British province.

The fiscal changes may be summed up thus : The miscellaneous taxes of the Sikh Government, forty eight in number, yielded an annual revenue of sixteen lakhs (Rs. 1,637,114); the revised taxes of the Regency, twenty-three in number, yielded a revenue of thirteen and a half lakhs (1,341,322); the new British taxes, four in number, were expected to yield sixteen and a quarter lakhs (Rs. 1,625,000), in the following proportion : Salt, Rs. 1,200,000 ; drugs and spirits, Rs. 200,000 ; Stamps, Rs. 100,000 ; and ferry tolls, Rs. 125,000¹.

From 1849 to 1869 the salt mines and quarries in the cis-Indus Panjab and at Kalabagh and the preventive line on the Indus were under the management of the Panjab Government ; but in 1869 the Government of India assumed the direct control of the Inland Customs Department, and the administration of the salt revenue in the Panjab was at the same time made over to the Imperial Department. It is, therefore, unnecessary to specify the enhancement and reduction in the rate of duty which were since made. In 1878 the customs line was abolished and the Panjab system of levying duty at the mines was extended to the Rajputana salt sources, but the change of policy had no material effect upon the salt supply of the Panjab. The cis-Indus rock-salt continued to be the main source of supply for the trans-Indus districts, and with the extension of the railway to Khehra in 1882 the demand for the salt rapidly grew.

By the annexation to the Panjab of the Delhi territory after the Mutiny, two additional sources—the Nuh and Sultanpur salt work in Gurgaon and Rohtak districts—were brought within the province. The greater part of the salt produced at those works was, however, consumed in the United Provinces of Agra and Delhi, and the competition of superior salt at uniform line and the lease of Rajputana salt sources by the British Government soon proved fatal to these works. By 1883-84 the salt from the Nuh works, which were not on the line of railway, had become unstable, and the works were closed. The Sultanpur salt-work, however, went on struggling for existence.

1. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, pp. 117—118.

In 1881 the prohibition of the manufacture of alimentary earth salt was extended to the territory west of the Indus and all illicit salt-works were closed.

The preventive line on the Indus was withdrawn in 1896 when the duty on Kohat salt was raised to Rs. 2 a maund of 102 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The transport of that salt to the cis-Indus territory was, however, still prohibited¹.

Excise Opium. The Panjab system of excising opium differed essentially from that of the rest of India, in that the cultivator was allowed to sell the produce of his poppy crop to licensed vendors instead of being compelled to sell it to the State as in other provinces. Hence the State, not being a monopolist of the drug, had to resort to its taxation, and ever since annexation it had levied a twofold tax upon it: first, it levied an acreage duty on the poppy crop, and secondly it taxed its sale by putting up to auction the licences to purchase the produce and resell it when made into opium². Under the system of direct taxation, opium was but lightly taxed in the Panjab (only Rs. 2 per acre—as in 1875-76 and in the following years—in districts where opium was manufactured in any quantity for sale, and more in districts in which poppy cultivation was hardly carried on except by people who hoped to consume the produce) in order to safeguard the cultivator against failure of the crop or due to the inability to realize it³. This involved a low rate of import duty, as a high rate would encourage smuggling. On the other hand, the import duty had to be pitched high enough to prevent the home-produce from being undersold⁴.

Liquors. Prior to annexation the only spirit made in the Panjab was an uncoloured rum from sugar, and this remained the chief alcoholic drink of the people throughout the period. To control its production, in 1863 no less than 118 State distilleries were established at district and tahsil headquarters. Each of these was an enclosure in which private distillers were permitted to set up stills, the spirit manufactured being kept in store by the excise officials and issued by them, after realization of duty, to retail vendors⁵. The system, however, was not successful in

1. I. G. I. P., p. 117; I. G. I. vol. XX, pp. 349—50.

2. I. G. I. P., pp. 118—119; I. G. I. vol. XX, pp. 350—51; R. E. A. 1875—76, pp. 2 to 4.

3. R. E. A. 1875-76, p. 2; R. E. A. 1895-96, p. 1; I. G. I. P., p. 119; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 351.

4. I. G. I. P. p. 119; I. G. I. vol. XX 351.

5. I. G. I. P. p. 120; I. G. I. vol. XX p. 351; also see A. R. 1864-65 p. 40.

The system was introduced as an experiment which seemed to be successful in the year being advantageous financially to the State and morally to the people.

the long run and was gradually abolished in favour of private licensed distilleries, which were 6 as against 3 Government distilleries, in the Panjab as separated from the N.W.F.P., in 1901¹. A duty of Rs. 4 per gallon was levied both at the still head and on all the Indian spirits imported into the province; European liquors paying customs at the post of arrival and a tax of one anna a gallon was levied on the beer before it left the brewery². Largest part of the revenue derived from spirits was raised in cantonments and in large towns. The rural population consumed very little spirits or drugs³.

Drugs. Although the hemp plant grew abundantly, charas, the drug extracted from its leaves and flowers, could not be made in the province. It was imported from Yarkand and Kashgar, via Leh, to bounded warehouses in the Panjab or the United Provinces. Before it was sold, a duty was levied on it. "Bhang", the dried leaves of the hemp-plant, supplied a medicinal beverage with cooling properties which was drunk chiefly by Sikh ascetics. The plant grew wild in such quantities in the hills and submontane districts that it was impossible to prohibit the gathering of its leaves, but any person found in possession of more than one seer was liable to penalty. Licensed vendors collected bhang without restriction within their own districts, but in districts where hemp did not grow, all "bhang" imported was subject to a duty. Thus while duty on "charas" was easily realized by guarding the routes of import, that on "bhang" was very difficult to collect, and where it grew wild, it could not be imposed at all⁴.

Stamps. Stamped paper of a primitive kind came into use in the Panjab immediately after its annexation. In 1872 a more efficient and reformed system was inaugurated which continued throughout the period of our study. Under this system a Superintendent of Stamps was appointed. Every Government treasury was a local depot for the sale of stamps, judicial and non-judicial, to the public, and of postage stamps to postmasters. Similarly sub-treasuries were branch depots. All treasuries were ex-officio vendors of stamped paper to the public. They were entrusted with stocks of stamps, and were required to meet the detailed demands for stamps made by the public, indenting upon the main stock

1. R. E. A. 1901-02; I. G. I. P., p. 120; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 352; R. E. A. 1890-91.

2. I. G. I. P., i, p. 120; I. G. I. vol. XX, 352.

3. R. E. A. 1875-76, p. 4; see also "Food" above (spirits and drugs).

4. I. G. I. P., p. 121; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 352-53.

of depot when their own ran low¹.

Income-Tax. Income-tax was first imposed in 1861 over an income of above Rs. 200 per annum², but in 1862 it was abolished on incomes below 500 rupees³. On 31st July 1865, the income-Tax expired⁴. Lord Lawrence had made up his mind before he left India in December 1868 to convert the certificate tax into an income-Tax, and his successor, Lord Mayo, agreed with him. Accordingly in 1869, Income-Tax was again imposed. Taxable minimum was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 in 1871-72 and to Rs. 1,000 in 1872-73; but in 1873 the tax was abolished. Income-Tax was revived in 1878, in the form of a licence tax on traders, which in 1886 was supplemented by a similar tax on all other non-agricultural incomes⁵. The gross receipt from Income-Tax in 1887-88 was Rs. 975,784⁷. In 1890-91, when the total income amounted to Rs. 1,169,230, the Financial Commissioner believed "that under the present conditions of prosperity and population the sum of 12 lakhs of rupees would represent very fairly the revenue to which the Government is entitled under the Act⁸." The very next year the total receipt was Rs. 1,208,719 and in 1900-1901 it reached the figure Rs. 1,472,000. Thus the expectations were more than fulfilled⁹.

Financial Relations Between Panjab and the Centre. After having given an account of the different revenue source of the Panjab, it would be interesting to mention in the end that these sources were not equal to the increasing needs of the provincial government. In fact, the financial difficulties of the Panjab and its constant efforts to get more and more from the Centre to assume and extend its social and economic functions, seem to be a permanent part of almost all the financial reports and records of the period, as it would be clear from the following account.

After the Mutiny, although the provincial Government carried on the greater part of the administration of the country, the tendency to

1. A. R. 1849-50 to 1850-51, p. 117; A. R. 1874-75, p. 94; I. G. I. P. p. 121; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 353; Reports on the Working of the Stamp Deptt., 1874 to 1901 (see the introduction in each report).

2. see A. R. 1860-61; A. R. 1861-62.

3. A. R. 1862-63 p. 43.

4. A. R. 1865-66, p. 74; F. F. I. p. 86.

5. F. F. I. pp. 165-167; A. R. 1869-70, p. 69; A. R. 1871-72, p. 100.

6. A. R. 1884-85; A. R. 1886-87, p. 124 (p. 13, summary)

7. R. I. T. A. 1887-88.

8. R. I. T. A. 1890-91.

9. R. I. T. A. all between the years 1890-91 and 1901-1902.

centralization began to stiffen. Everything was rigorously centralized in the Supreme Government, and its sanction was necessary for the grants of funds even for purely local works of improvement, for every local road, and every building, however insignificant¹. Constant differences of opinion about petty details of expenditure, and constant interference of the Government of India in matters of trivial importance, brought with them, as a necessary consequence, frequent conflicts with the Local Government². Thus in 1859 the Panjab Government was forced to reduce its budget estimates³, and in 1869 again we find the Government of India saying in a resolution that the "subordinate Governments are of course bound, as a primary duty, to use the most honest and rigid economy in the preparation of the estimates of their requirements," and the Panjab Government remonstrating against retrenchment from the Local Budget Estimates for 1869-70, and orders thereon⁴. The evils of the system became more and more manifest as time went on. And to Lord Mayo belongs the honour of having actually applied the only effectual remedy for these evils.

Lord Mayo's scheme for partial decentralization of the finances was inaugurated by the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 14th December 1870, and it came into operation in the Panjab on 1st April 1871. Under the scheme the departments and services which remained Imperial were, so far as the Panjab was concerned, the following⁵ :—

Interests.
Refunds and Drawbacks.
Land Revenue.
Tributes and contributions from States.
Forest.
Excise on Spirits and Drugs.
Income-Tax.
Customs and Salt.
Stamps.
Administration and Public Department.
Minor Departments.
Law and Justice.
Marine.

1. F. P. W. I. p. 134 ; Anstey Vera, p. 367 ; F. F. I. p. 85.

2. F. P. W. I., p. 138.

3. Govt. of India : Finance Dept., 1869 : Accounts, 23rd Sept., 571—76.

4. Govt. of India : Finance Dept., 1869 : August, 133—140, A.

5. A.R. 1871-72, p. 94,

Ecclesiastical.
 Medical Services.
 Political Agencies.
 Allowances under Treaty etc.
 Pensions and Gratuties.
 Miscellaneous.

The Government of India divested itself of the immediate financial control of the departments and services noted below :—

Jails.
 Police.
 Education.
 Printing Miscellaneous Public Improvements.
 Registration.
 Medical.
 Roads.
 Civil Buildings.

To inaugurate this scheme, the Panjab Government received a special grant of Rs. 235,210, while the annual grant for Provincial Services was fixed at Rs. 5,318,000 and anything required in excess of that sum was to leftbe made up by provincial texation.

On the 20th June 1871 an Act (XX of 1871), to enable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab to levy rates on land, not exceeding 6 pies per rupee of its annual value, received the assent of the Governor-General. The funds so raised were to be expended under the generar control and supervision of Local District Committees.

Several funds which were at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor, such as Ferry, Station and Educational Cess Funds, ceased to exist as separate accounts, their cash balance being transferred with the Imperial grant of Rs. 235,210, as an opening Cash Balance for "Provincial Services". The amounts so withdrawn were expected to be more than replaced by the assignments made to District Committees for local objects under the Panjab Local Rates' Act¹ (mentioned above).

The Panjab Government, however, could not appreciate the financial arrangement thus made. The closing cash balance of the first year (1871-72) of decentralization was ten lakhs in excess of that with which the year opened. It might at first sight be supposed that the levy of the additional rate was unnecessary. But the explanation for this, which the Lieutenant-Governor gave, was that for several years, owing to financial

1. *ibid* p. 107.

pressure, expenditure on the public works of the province had been reduced to the very lowest point. Such being the case, it was impossible that in the first year of the decentralization the Government could economically expend the large increase of revenue which new taxation had placed at its disposal. The system of financial decentralization, for the first year, worked well. The Lieutenant-Governor was, however, strongly of the opinion that it would be more equitable to allow local Governments and Administration a proportionate share of the general revenue raised in the province, rather than to assign fixed grants for certain services made Provincial. Those heads of expenditure which had then been transferred from Imperial to Provincial administration, had one and all a natural and inevitable tendency to increase. That increase was dependent upon circumstances upon which no Local Government could exercise control i.e. the growth of population, the eager desire of the people for education, the increased rates of labour, and upon all those causes which had their origin in improved administration and increasing prosperity¹.

In 1875-76, the absolute provincial balance was extremely small, and the Lieutenant-Governor found it necessary to direct the reduction of the public works assignment for the current year, by Rs. 250,000 and notified that the allotment for the next year must be on a further reduced scale. The Lieutenant-Governor asserted once again that the system of fixed assignments was less likely to be successful in the Panjab. The Panjab at the date of decentralization, he said, had been only twenty years annexed, and like all countries suddenly placed under sure and equal laws, after a long period of confusion and strife, had made a rapid advance in wealth and prosperity, and cultivation and population had increased at a faster ratio than perhaps in any other part of India. What in older province was included under the head of Repairs, came in the Panjab, under the Head of Construction. It was thus found necessary to supplement the Imperial assignments by permission to the panjab Government to levy rates on land, not exceeding 6 percent of its annual value. Its expenditure was, however, he added, entrusted to district committees, and was not available to the Government, while their application was so limited by the Act as to only partially relieve the Government of charges which might perhaps in equity be thrown upon the local committees. They were, moreover, not sufficient to adequately supplement the Imperial assignments and to meet the numerous and ever increasing wants of a province like the Panjab. The principle of fixed

1. *ibid*, pp. 7-8 (summary).

assignments, the Lieutenant-Governor declared again, was thus "to bind a living body to a corpse ; or to compell a man to remain in the clothes, which only fitted him when a child¹."

After 1877, the grants were made on quinquennial, instead of on an annual basis, and instead of a fixed grant from the Central Government the provinces were given the receipts from certain defined sources (called the "assigned revenues") with the idea of giving them greater responsibility and hence a motive for greater economy and efficiency.

Thus the Imperial Government made over to the control of the Panjab Government such heads of charge or revenue as Administration, Stamps, Law and Justice, Excise, taking on those from which an increasing revenue might be expected, an annually increasing increment and calculating the Imperial assignment on the fixed branches of revenue made over an average of the estimates and actuals of the previous years. The principle adopted by the Government of India, according to the Panjab Government, however, had been to contract, as it were, with Local Governments at fixed sums, for its due performance of certain services ; and thus by the vigilant observance of economy forced upon the Local Governments to avoid charging to the Imperial expenditure the large annual increase, which the ever growing complexity of the administration of a country like British India must entail. The principle, according to the Lieutenant-Governor was, "a wise and wholesome one" : but the position of the Panjab he asserted, was exceptional in the fact that in a new province the demands for public works of all kinds were unusually heavy, while the population being agricultural, the revenue was necessarily inelastic, and political reasons rendered it undesirable to impose on the people fresh burden of taxation. The correctness of these considerations was acknowledged by the Government of India².

Under the first provincial settlement the total receipts rose from 284·44 lakhs (provincial share 51·39) to 335·01 lakhs in 1882 (provincial share 80·25), owing to the rapid growth of stamp and excise revenue. In the same period expenditure rose from 179·14 Lakhs to 216·06 lakhs (the provincial share rising from 116·57 lakhs to 133·85 lakhs), owing to the development of the departments transferred to the provincial control. The provincial income and expenditure during the quinquennium averaged 65·13 lakhs and 139·31 lakhs respectively, compared with 49·22 lakhs and 120·11 lakhs estimated in the contract. The provincial balance was 29·63 lakhs in 1882³.

1. A.R. 1875-76, p. 63—57 (summary).

2. A.R. 1877-78, pp. 33—35 (summary)

3. I.G.I.P., p. 107 ; I.G.I. vol. XX, p. 340.

Under the second settlement which was introduced in 1882, the provincial Government received 40·7193 percent of the land revenue, and was made liable for the same proportion of the cost of settlement and survey operations, and refunds of land revenue. Half the receipts and expenditures under the Forest became Provincial, and the same division was made of Stamps, Excise, and Registration, formerly wholly Provincial, while half the license tax collections also became Provincial. On the other hand, the pay of Civil Surgeon and other charges devolved on the provincial Government¹.

In a letter to the Government of India dated 2nd August, 1882, the very year the settlement came into force, the Panjab Government remarked that the application of the percentage to the actual accounts of the year 1878-1881 appeared to show that if the new system had been in operation during that period, the provincial finance would have been, at its close, worse off than they then were to the extent of nearly four lakhs of rupees. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, fully accepted the principle upon which the new scheme was based, and acknowledged that the responsibility of the Local Government for famine expenditure, under the new scheme, had been diminished and also that concession had been made by including the surplus of upwards of three lakhs on the regular estimates in the figures upon which the provincial percentage had been calculated. But he added, if advance in developing the material resources of the country and in surrendering to local bodies the control of funds then manipulated in a central bureau was not so rapid as he would wish to see, such a result, he continued as a mark of complaint, might be ascribed to the necessities of other parts of India which might have prevented the Supreme Government from placing larger funds at his disposal².

In the year 1883, the Lieutenant-Governor again expressed his apprehensions as to the working of the contract³ and in 1884 he definitely declared that it appeared that "in the contract now current the income of the province was over-estimated, while an under-estimation was made of the expenditure."⁴ But in reply to a letter for certain financial concessions the Government of India wrote to the Government of the Panjab in 1885 that the Government of India were "unable to concede that the present contract is more unfavourable than the one for which it has been substituted," and that they were of the opinion that "the actual position of the finances

1. *ibid.*

2. Govt. of India Finance Dept., 1882 : Accounts etc. August, 999, A.

3. A. R. 1882-83, p. 13 (summary).

4. A. R. 1883-84, p. 13 (summary).

of the province is more satisfactory than that shown in the representation¹." The Lieutenant-Governor, however, repeated his views in 1886 saying that, he "during the term of his office has with regret been compelled to abandon several schemes for improving the administration in the different Departments owing to deficiency of funds.....²."

Giving a brief historical sketch of its sacrifices, the Panjab Administration Report of 1887 reported that in 1878, in view of impending military operations, the Local Government were directed to reduce ordinary expenditure within the narrowest possible limits. The next year, owing to the loss by exchange, it was found necessary to repeat these instructions in still stronger and more definite terms. In 1885 again the Local Government were asked for reduction for the purpose of meeting expenditure on military preparations. Both in 1878-79 and 1885, the Panjab Government responded to the best of their ability and made contributions, which were, however, repaid to them. As a result of the most close review in 1886, of the provincial expenditure and the prospects of revenue, it was admitted that it was impossible to enforce against the Panjab any revision of terms favourable to the Imperial Revenues ; and thus the old provincial contract was simply continued. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, felt the necessity of some further examination of the financial position, and in the autumn of 1887 a meeting of the Heads of Departments was held to consider all possible retrenchments in expenditure and to devise means for the improvement of income. As a result of all this it was asserted that there were exceedingly few practicable economies which had not already been effected.

As to the working of the Provincial Contract of 1882, the province started with a balance of about 30 lakhs and ended, at the close of the period of five years, with a balance of less than 17½ lakhs³.

And it had been only by vigilance and economy, declared the Lieutenant-Governor, strongly, sometimes, he feared, even harshly enforced in the whole administration, that he had avoided the absolute starvation of Public Works and in future it would not be possible to keep the minimum balance even at the figure of ten lakhs⁴.

But although the settlement in 1887 was retained without any change favourable to the Imperial Government, as referred to above, seeing that

1. Govt. of India, Home—1885 : Public, June, 44.

2. A. R., 1885-86, p. 8 (summary).

3. A. R. 1886-87, pp. 10-12 (summary).

4. Government of India : Finance and Commerce, 1887 ; Accounts & Finance, May, 368—383, A.

Panjab had during the year 1887-88, the closing provincial balance equal to 17½ lakhs, the prescribed minimum being only 10 Lakhs, the Government of India once again remarked in a letter to the Panjab Government that in their opinion the "Panjab Government takes too unfavourable a view of its position¹."

The settlement enforced in 1887 for the third quinquennium looked easier for the provincial government. The provincial revenue rose from 158·37 lakhs in 1887-88 to 172·97 lakhs in 1891-92, and expenditure for the respective years, from 157·13 lakhs to 178·56 lakhs. The closing balance in 1891-92 was 22·15 lakhs. The Panjab Government reported in 1890-91, as in 1888-89² and again in 1889-90³, that the Panjab had recovered from the financial depression. This result was due, in large measure, to the careful examination and control of all the heads of income and expenditure and to the consideration shown to the Panjab by the Government of India in 1887 in continuing the provincial contract for a further period of five years upon the old terms⁴.

In their letter dated 26th August, 1891, the Government of India intimated to the Panjab Government that, the financial position of the Panjab during the contract being prosperous due to their judicious management, it was unnecessary any longer to treat the Panjab differently from other provinces and that the changes and alterations which would have been made in 1887 had a new contract been framed, would now be introduced⁵.

The new contract came into force in the Panjab on the 1st April, 1892. According to the fresh distribution of the receipts and charges, the changes made were :—

1. The Provincial share of the Land Revenue and of the Excise Revenue and Expenditure was reduced from 40·7193 and 50 percent respectively to 25 percent each.
2. The Provincial share of the Stamp Revenue and Expenditure was increased from 50 to 75 percent.
3. The cost of Surveys and Settlements, instead of being shared by the Imperial and Provincial Government in the same proportion as the Land Revenue, was made wholly Provincial.

1. Govt. of India : Rev. and Agri. 1888 : Revenue, 23.

2. A. R. 1888-89, p. 14 (summary).

3. A. R. 1889-90, p. 12 (summary).

4. A. R. 1890-91, pp. 19-20 (summary).

5. Govt. of India : Finance and Commerce Deptt. 1891 : Accounts & Finance, Sept., 669—675, A.

4. The cost of collecting the Income Tax, which was formerly nearly wholly Imperial, was, like the Revenue under that head, divided equally between Imperial and Provincial.

5. The office of establishment of the Accountant General, Panjab, previously partly Imperial, was made wholly Imperial.

6. Railway Police and Special Police (Border Military Police), formerly Imperial, were provincialized, like the rest of the Police expenditure of the province.

7. The charges, other than salaries and allowances of officers of the new Civil Veterinary Department were declared Provincial, so also the expenditure on Gazetteers and Statistical Meomirs, formerly Imperial.

8. The Amritsar-Pathankot State Railway which was constructed on provincial responsibility was taken over by the Imperial Government.

9. Inter-Provincial adjustments of receipts and charges realized and incurred respectively by one Local Government on behalf of another were discontinued except in some special cases where a considerable charge of an exceptional nature was borne by one on behalf of another province¹.

In the new provincial arrangement, the expenditure on the Provincial Services was estimated at Rs. 17,189,000, and the sources of revenue assigned to the Local Government to meet the expenditure were expected to yield not less; the income actually obtained from these in the very first year of the enforcement of the contract was, however, Rs. 17,416,000 and the expenditure amounted to Rs. 18,478,000². This contract could not, therefore, work as favourably to the province as that of 1887.

In 1896, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, in a demi-official letter to the Government of India, complained that he has had to refuse sanction to nearly every proposal involving permanent expenditure which had come up before him since the summer of 1893, and that his hands had been crippled throughout his term of office so far as Public Works expenditure on communication was concerned. The present system, he remarked, "sweeps every penny into Imperial funds³."

The severe financial strain upon the provincial chequer was owing to demands unforeseen and not provided for in the quinquennial contract⁴,

1. A. R. 1892-93, p. 183; Govt. of India Finance and Commerce Deptt., 1891: Accounts and Finance, Sept., 669 to 675, A.; I. G. I. P. p. 108; I. G. I. vol. XX, p. 341.

2. A. R. 1892-93, p. 9 (summary).

3. Govt. of India: Finance and Commerce Deptt., 1896: Accounts and Finance, Oct., 1098-1102, A.

4. A. R. 1895-96, p. 10 (summary).

The grant of the exchange compensation allowances at an increased rate¹ and the deficient rainfall in 1896-97 resulting in scarcity amounting in some districts to actual famine, had crippled the financial sources of the Panjab. The Provincial balance in 1896-97 was reduced to Rs. 500,000, or half the required minimum balance².

The fifth settlement made in 1897 was afterwards extended to 1904-5. The only differences of distribution made by the new contract were the following :—

The Local Government under the new contract was to receive 40 instead of 25 percent of the increments of the Land Revenue.

The expenditure incurred in the Panjab on account of Upper Burma which had been adjusted in the accounts of the Burma Administration was in the new contract treated as expenditure of the Panjab Government, an addition being made to the revenues assigned to the latter to meet it.

Under the new contract the provincial revenues and expenditure were estimated at Rs. 18,770,000 and Rs. 18,891,000 respectively. In this estimate of expenditure (1) the charge for interest payable by the Panjab Government on the Provincial Loan Account was reduced by one-eighth ; and (2) the outlay on Provincial Canal Works was put equal to the total revenue derived from these works ; the surplus revenue from the works being thus secured to the Local Government for outlay on fresh projects of the kind. The provincialized expenditure was in excess of provincialized revenue by Rs. 121,000 and to remove this deficit and acknowledge in their letter to the Government of Panjab dated 18th March, 1897, that the Provincial Revenue in the Panjab had been for the most part of a non-progressive character, the Government of India decided, as a special case to assign Rs. 248,000 from the Land Revenue over and above the fixed provincial share of that revenue. The surplus which the new contract professed to provide was Rs. 127,000³.

Unfortunately, however, due to famine in the Province the Local Government were placed in strained circumstances immediately after the enforcement of the contract and the Imperial Government had in 1898 to make a special grant of Rs. 5 lakhs to the province⁴. Owing to the

1. A. R. 1894-95.

2. A. R. 1896-97.

3. A. R. 1897-98, pp. 239-240 ; Govt. of India Financial Progs. Accounts & Finance, March—1897.

4. A. R. 1898-99.

same condition of the provincial finances continuing in 1899-1900, the entire outlay on famine from the general revenue was borne by the Imperial Postal Department as also in the receipts of the Judicial, Jail and Police Departments¹.

To famine which had continued from the previous year was then added plague and in 1900-1901 the entire expenditure incurred by the Government in the Panjab on famine relief was met from the Imperial Funds ; the Provincial revenues not only being unable to contribute, but having to be supplemented by grants from the Imperial Government to enable them to bear the cost of the ordinary administration of the province².

Conclusion. From the foregoing account thus, it is clear that during our period of study, the limited and unreliable resources of the Panjab acted as a serious brake on the introduction of reforms and the assumption and extension of social and economic functions. The financial problem was undoubtedly an important factor in the arrested economic development of the Panjab.

1. A. R. 1899-1900.

2. A. R. 1900-1901.

Principal Sources of Provincial Revenue up to March 31, 1901,
(after decentralization) (In thousands of rupees).

	Average for ten years ending March 31, 1890.		Average for ten years ending March 31, 1900.		Year ending March 31, 1901.	
	Total raised in Province. (Imperial and local)	Amount credited to Provincial revenues.	Total raised in Province. (Imperial and Local)	Amount credited to Provincial revenues.	Total raised in Province. (Imperial and Local)	Amount credited to Provincial Revenues
Land Revenue.....	21,273	7,290	24,029	9,898	24,375	11,224
Stamps.....	3,504	2,084	4,206	2,956	4,280	3,210
Excise.....	1,355	798	2,133	623	2,601	650
Provincial rates.....	3,345	484	4,180	592	4,328	589
Assessed taxes.....	696	328	1,295	647	1,480	740
Forests.....	852	358	1,068	534	1,351	675
Registration.....	210	128	329	165	347	174
Other sources.....	4,969	4,053	3,880	3,023	4,491	3,316
Total.....	36,204	15,523	41,120	18,438	43,253	20,572

Provincial Expenditure up to March 31, 1901.

(After decentralization)

(In thousand of rupees)

	Average for ten years ending March 31,1890	Average for ten years ending March 31,1900	Year ending March 31,1901
Opening balance.....	90	247	—
Charges in respect of revenue collection	2,376	3,130	3,505
Salaries and expenses of Civil Departments :—			
(1) General Administration...	1,005	1,015	1,005
(2) Law and Justice.....	3,419	4,184	4,868
(3) Police.....	3,017	3,835	4,381
(4) Education	708	761	763
(5) Medical	485	640	872
(6) Other heads	83	106	106
Pensions and miscellaneous charges	606	979	1,284
Famine relief	—	120	—
Irrigation	26	76	103
Public works	2,594	2,832	2,584
Other charges and adjustments.....	1,047	1,007	1,107
Total.....	15,366	18,685	20,578
Closing balance	247	—	—

CHAPTER XI

The General Prosperity

(1)

DEVELOPMENTS TILL THE MUTINY OF 1857 AND THE FULFILMENT OF LORD DALHOUSIE'S EXPECTATIONS

'Let me see ten good oxen and ten maunds of mixed grains, the milk of a buffalo and some sugar to stir into it, and a fair assessment after harvest: God give me so much, and I won't say another word,' that was the desire of a villager in the Panjab, before annexation¹. According to some writers, in those days few cultivators² had more than two meals a day, and for the most part life was sustained on cakes of flour made of wheat or millet, flavoured with turnips, onion or melon (according to the season), and washed down with buttermilk. Dress too was of the simplest³. But under the British a change had to take place.

To the young British administrators after annexation, the Panjab with its thirsty plains, unutilized rivers, and willing manly population, was like a newly discovered country with great natural resources awaiting the development which, they claimed, the English brain and organizing power alone could give. Guided by the Lawrences, the business of administration went apace. Dalhousie was essentially the great road maker of India. During his eight years of office (1848—56) crores of rupees were spent on the neglected arteries of commerce. The Board lost no time in preparing plans and estimates for diverting the rivers of the Panjab from their beds in the lowest levels between the doabs to the water sheds thereof.

In the matter of barracks, court-houses, jails, dispensaries, and the other material requirements of a settled Government, also, construction proceeded as far as money was available. The varieties of coins⁴ in circulation, most numerous of which was the multiform Sikh rupee,

1. S. R. Karnal, 1883, p. 138.

2. Condition of other classes was better no doubt.

3. Darling, M. L., P. P. P. D. 1928, 155.

4. See Finance 1850, No. 67., Progs. 3, April.

called Nanak Shahi, were gradually called in, and replaced by Company's rupees¹.

The sudden pacification of the province after annexation, the cessation of military and political employment, which occupied many thousands of persons and caused money to circulate in the villages, induced large numbers to devote themselves to agriculture. Formerly a proportion of the agricultural classes were engaged in war and service of various kinds, and thus they supported themselves and contributed to the support of those who tilled the land at home. But now the entire support of all these classes fell upon the land. Again, there came a cycle of seasons more favourable than the average of years under the British rule. From all these causes the agriculture became unusually productive, flooded the market with produce, and reduced prices nearly by 50 percent. This cheapness rendered it difficult for the agriculturists to obtain cash for their produce, when they wanted it to pay their new money assessments. There was less money in the Panjab than previously; large sums, which would formerly have circulated in the Panjab, were remitted to other parts of the empire by the soldiery and other Government employees. Again the fact that nothing but cash was accepted in payment of the Government revenue, enhanced the value of money. The agriculturist, therefore, with abundance of surplus in his hands, found difficulty in converting it into money and this difficulty was perhaps aggravated by the unvarying nature of the Government demand (however low) with men accustomed to annually fluctuating demand under the Sikh rule².

All these circumstances combined to distress the agriculturist immediately after the annexation. But these days were not to last long. Soon, a large number of the Panjabi husbandmen enlisted themselves in the army and thus replaced the soldiers coming from other parts of India. Within the years 1856-58, it was reported, the Native Army being Panjabi all the sums formerly drained from the Panjab, had been paid to them, and had been spent at home. Again, many thousands of the Panjabi soldiers were serving abroad. These men not only remitted their savings, but also had sent quantities of prize property and plunder, to their native villages. The effect of all this was perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a free circulation of money and a fresh impetus to cultivation. There had of course, been a diminution of labouring hand to till the land; such large numbers of husbandmen having enlisted in the army; but this was more than compensated by the

1. Thorburn, S. S. P. P. W. 1904, pp. 161—163.

2. A. R. 1854-55, 1855-56 Para 45.

augmentation of those means which were the sinews of agriculture as of every thing else. Probably at no time since annexation had the agriculturists of the Panjab been in such easy circumstances as they were in 1857-58¹. The Panjab had just been blessed for the third time in succession with a bumper harvest, and the people were consequently in a very happy frame of mind².

If the British gave them so much during these years, the Panjabis were not slow to acknowledge it. And the time for it came in 1857, when rumours of British disasters at various places in India circulated. Here and there, it is true, the most ignorant of the mere idle and thriftless amongst the Mohammedan tribes—already under British institution beginning to lose status and means of easy subsistence—were growing restive. With those insignificant exceptions—ripples here and there on the glassy surface of a tranquil ocean—the panjab was as quiet and law-abiding throughout 1857 as during any year before or since. Not only this much, Panjabis fought for the English, so that they could recover their position in the rest of India³. There might have been many other causes for this loyalty of the Panjabis during the Mutiny of 1857, but the part which the increasing prosperity of the Panjab peasant played was great.

When Lord Dalhousie entrusted to the Board of Administration the Government of the Panjab, he had directed that every effort should be made to develop its resources and to foster trade, and had expressed himself in the following terms :—

“By prosecuting these projects of employment and directing the energies of the people to new sources of interest and excitement, we may gradually wean them from those schemes of agitation and violence, which the inveteracy of habit and the prestige of long and uninterrupted success under Maharajah Ranjit Singh had hitherto encouraged, and it may be our happiness before long to see our efforts crowned by the conversion of a martial and hostile population, into industrious subjects cultivating the arts of peace and civilization⁴.

The subsequent history of the Panjab till 1857 shows that these expectations were more than fulfilled, for although the martial and hostile population of the Panjab had not entirely thrown aside the sword, their martial energy was more often exerted in the support of order, and of the British Government, than against it.

1. A. R. 1856-57 to 1858-58 p. 16.

2. Thorburn, S.6.—P. P. P., I. W. 1904, p. 197.

3. Ibid, pp. 212-213.

4. A. R. 1865-66 pp. 149-150.

AFTER THE MUTINY

The Panjab was becoming more and more prosperous, all the reports of the Financial Commissioner and Settlement officers of the Panjab agreed. An enormous increase of cultivation was taking place in Panjab, it was reported in 1879; the sinking of multitudes of irrigation wells, the increased production of more valuable crops; the gradual substitution of masonry dwellings for mud huts, of brass for earthen vessels; increased expenditure on goods from Manchester and decreasing application for agricultural loans from Government; were all the signs of increasing prosperity of the Panjab. It was seen also in the fact that, notwithstanding a large export of grains in 1876, the markets were so overflowing that there was the danger of a glut; and that, in spite of a total failure of the autumn harvest of 1877, there was no general distress in the Panjab. In the Sikh times, it was further reported, stock and dairy produce was taxed, and sometimes, heavily. It was now practically untaxed, for assessment of grazing lands was nominal. The local rates and cesses were light. The sum total of imperial and local taxation combined in 1876-77 did not exceed £3,762,000, falling at the rate per head of only 3s. 8½d., and this was only a very small part of the total income of an agriculturist¹.

"I venture to assert with confidence" wrote Mr. T.H. Thornton, the Judge of Chief Court and Secretary to the Panjab Government after making different calculations of the income and expenditure of an agriculturist in the Panjab, "that her Majesty the Queen and Empress has few subjects more well-to-do (in their small way), few more contended, few more well affected than the peasant cultivators of the province of the Panjab²."

Further development of all the resources in the Panjab was reported in 1891. There were all round improvements in the Panjab. Improvement of sanitation of villages and of drainage works. There was further extension of cultivation under food and non-food crops. Outturn and export of wheat had increased. There was development in production as a result of the development of irrigation. And a result of an inquiry, which had been made in 1888, reported Mr. Steedman, the Director of

1. By three different processes, and giving all the benefits of doubt to the agriculturist, Mr. Thornton estimated that an average peasant after meeting all his necessary expenses, could save at least 6 pounds (average rate of exchange in pence per rupee in 1877 was 20.8) a year with his income as then it was. These 6, he further added, were equal to 60 a year of an English peasant, as articles of ordinary use in the Panjab were cheaper than they were in England. These conclusions of his were accepted by the authorities..... See Material Progress Report Panjab.....1881-1891.

2. Punjab Report in Reply to the Inquiries issued by the Famine Commission, vol. II, 1878-79, pp. 626-633, 634A, 634B.

Agriculture, there was not a district, nor a tract in the province, neither in the fertile and densely-populated submontane districts, nor in the arid, sparsely populated tracts of Bar and that in the west, in which the people habitually suffered from a daily insufficiency of food. Actual owners of the land were in no danger of starvation. Nor could the village menials starve, because their existence was necessary for the well-being of the village. Various measures had been taken to protect the province from the occurrence of famine. There was a development of communication and that of trade, and all this was developing the prosperity of the province¹.

Love of travel, there could be no doubt, and for adventure especially if it was backed up by the prospects of a lucrative employment, was increasing. Especially so in the last decade of the century. The number of third class passengers travelling in the Panjab railways had increased from about 10½ millions per annum at the beginning of the decennial period (1891-1901) to more than 17 millions in the year ending on the 31st March 1901. Notwithstanding vague traditions of a golden age, and exceptional instances of families and even villages burdened with debt, there could be no doubt that in many respects, the peasantry and especially the land owners in 1901, were much better off than what they were thirty years before. They ate better food and wore better clothing, owned more horses and more valuable utensils and jewels, and altogether their standard of living was much higher. The average value of currency notes in circulation in 1871-72² was Rs. 8,418,359, in 1891-92 it was Rs. 13,417,440 and in 1900-01 it had risen to 20,477,985. The Postal Saving Bank in 1891-92 held in deposit Rs. 6,262,584, and in 1900-01 had to account for Rs. 10,911,336. Income tax receipts also arose³. European and American made drugs and cigarettes; German watches and patent shoes, were luxuries which were common enough in the towns, and within a few years before 1901, the bicycle had become a common feature in every town in the province. The use of tea as a beverage was extending, even to the villages⁴.

1. Provincial Report on the Material Conditions of the People, 1881-1891.

2. It was only a few years before that special efforts were made to popularise the currency notes. See Rev. Reports for 1865-1870 also for 1876-77. p. 44.

3. It was in 1872-73 that the Financial Commissioner recommended the extension of the system of saving Banks to all districts. It was repeatedly reported during the following years that the treasury and later on Postal Saving Banks had been a convenience to clerks in government offices and to soldiers in cantonments, but in the rural population they had no effect whatever. See Rev. Admn. Reports, 1872-73 to 1884-85; also see chapter X, especially for income tax.

4. Report on the Material Progress of Panjab, 1891-1900; A. R. 1871-72.

A Definite Proof. That the general prosperity of the people in the Panjab increased during the British rule, may further be proved from the following facts concerning the labouring classes.

The true measure of the labourer's prosperity is the margin he has left over from his wages after providing for his necessary wants. As compared with his daily food, his other needs are of little importance. For clothing, the agricultural labourer of a poorer class in the Panjab, was content with a few garments of coarse cotton and a woollen blanket or two. For shelter, he was happy in a house of some dried bricks, made with his own hands and with the help of his neighbours. For fuel, he or his family could always pick up enough sticks or dung to make a fire to bake his scones or heat his milk or boil his vegetables broth. He rarely tasted meat or spirits, and his chief luxuries were sugar and tobacco ; which were not taxed inside India and were therefore cheap.

After a long experience on famine relief works, it was found that a man doing a fair daily task of spade-work was kept in good condition if he was given a daily wage sufficient to enable him to buy $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. weight of the cheapest grain ; not that he ate so much grain, but that covered also the cost of salt, firewood and vegetables. Few labourers actually consumed more than 2 lbs. of flour in a day. Taking, however, the case of a man who had to support out of his own earnings a wife and two children, such a family could not possibly consume more than 2 maunds¹ a month. Taking into consideration the rise in the price of food-grains, we have the following figures².

1. Wilson Sir James, 38-39.

2. *ibid* Appendix 5.

Years	Average monthly wages in rupees of agricultural labour	Price in rupees of two maunds of jawar at the average price of the year	Margin ¹ of comfort in rupees	Average monthly wages in rupees of common mason, carpenter or blacksmith	Average wages paid in rupees for unskilled labour at the railway locomotive workshop at Lahore ²	
					Daily	Monthly
1873	5.2	2.6	2.6	12.8	0.19	5.1
1874	5.4	2.9	2.5	11.9	0.19	5.1
1875	5.4	2.6	2.8	13.5	0.19	5.0
1876	5.7	2.4	3.3	13.6	0.20	5.1
1877	5.5	2.6	2.9	13.7	0.19	5.1
1878	5.4	4.8	0.6	13.2	0.19	5.2
1879	6.2	5.1	1.1	15.0	0.19	5.2
1880	6.2	4.7	1.5	15.1	0.19	5.2
1881	6.3	3.6	2.7	14.7	0.20	5.2
1882	6.3	2.8	3.5	13.8	0.20	5.2
1883	6.3	2.3	4.0	14.6	0.20	5.2
1884	6.1	2.5	3.6	14.8	0.20	5.2
1885	6.2	2.4	3.8	15.9	0.20	5.2
1886	6.9	3.2	3.7	15.4	0.20	5.3
1887	6.8	4.6	2.2	15.9	0.22	5.9
1888	6.6	4.1	2.5	15.7	0.23	6.1
1889	6.4	3.2	3.2	16.4	0.25	6.5
1890	6.4	3.4	3.0	17.3	0.23	6.3
1891	6.4	4.6	1.8	15.4	0.24	6.6
1892	6.8	4.2	2.6	17.1	0.27	6.9
1893	6.6	3.4	3.2	16.5	0.27	6.9
1894	6.8	2.6	4.2	16.2	0.26	7.0
1895	6.7	3.3	3.4	16.8	0.28	7.5
1896	7.0	5.4	1.6	17.0	0.21	5.6
1897	6.9	6.8	0.1	18.2	0.21	5.6
1898	6.8	3.7	3.1	18.9	0.25	6.6
1899	6.8	4.1	2.7	19.4	0.23	6.0
1900	7.3	6.5	0.8	19.2	0.25	6.8
1901	7.2	3.7	3.5	18.9	0.22	5.9

1. It reported what the married labour has over, after providing food to keep him and his family in good health, to spend on clothing, comfort etc.

2. This is true for whole of the province.

Thus notwithstanding the rise of prices, the average labourer was much better off in 1901 than he was formerly. The figures show, however, that in years of scarcity when grain was dear, this margin of comfort for the married labourer was dangerously reduced¹. This was the condition of the married labourer who obtained constant employment at the average rate of wages. But, of course, there were often times when he found it difficult to do so, and must be content to accept lower wages temporarily, or go in search of work, or do without it for a time. This was especially the case in seasons of wide spread drought. Formerly such conditions gave rise to famine, and it required all the resources of the State to keep the people alive. Towards the close of the 19th and the early 20th century, however, thanks to the great development of cultivation and irrigation, to the accumulation of capital and to the constant demand for large bodies of unskilled labourers on the canal and railway works, there was now little fear except in small isolated tracts of the country, of the development of famine conditions to such an extent as to necessitate the opening of large relief works.

Similar was the rise in the wages of the skilled artisan classes².

Press in the Panjab did appreciate the all round development in the province under the British rule, and although some of the papers like *Kohi-Nur* and *Paisa Akhbar*³, criticised the general governmental policy violently⁴, the general tone of the press remained loyal⁵.

Sometimes, indeed, long articles appeared in the praise of the government. Thus according to *Khair Khwah-i-Panjab*, the English were brave and kings, in their ruling they (the people) drew comfort, fire, water, air and all were in their power⁶.

Yet this picture of all round developments in the Panjab, was not pleasing enough, on the whole.

That during the British rule an average man became more prosperous, there was little doubt. But the great and sudden rise of prices and wages

1. For instance in 1897 and again in 1900 the years of famine.

2. Wilson Sir James, 39-40.

3. Home 1893, Public, May, 125-126 B; see also Home 1885, Public, March, 3-4, B.

4. One of the questions often referred to was the discrimination between Europeans and the natives. See Home-1882, Public March 11-13, B, Home 1883, Public, Feb, 187-188, B.

5. See Home-1885, Public, March 3-4, B; Home-1892, Public, May 3/4 B; Home 1894, Public, May, 98-99, B.

6. It was a long article giving an account of the benefits of the British rule N.P.R. Panjab, N.W.P. etc. 1868, pp. 35-36.

could not be without its hardships, especially to those classes whose income was a fixed number of rupees. Although the great mass of the population of the Panjab, land-owners, tenants, and labourers, were producers as well as consumers, and there could be no doubt that for them the net result of the rise in prices and wages must be great increase in their wealth and although the number of the peasants under debt was only small as compared with their total population (about 1/8th of the land was under mortgage in 1901¹), the life in a village, generally, was yet simple. An ordinary villager wanted very little beyond actual necessities; and, with a few exceptions, such as watches, kerosine, lamps and piece-goods (a very important exception), these wants were supplied by local labour. The agriculturist still got his ploughs, well gear and carts made up in the village². In fact after reviewing the entire field of activities of the British rule for the benefit of the great mass of the peasants of Panjab during these years, the only conclusion that can be arrived at is that the Panjab peasant enjoyed three meals a day, instead of two before annexation, and, except in times of scarcity or famine, was not in want though in many cases his earnings were not more than sufficient to provide him and his family with a fair supply of the necessities of life³.

In the time of famine, however, things were different. In fact the most striking thing that one observes in this connection is the lack of staying power shown by the cultivating classes, so that the instant the monsoon failed⁴, millions of the people were hungry. The cultivator seemed to be living at the brink of ruin without reserves of cash or kind, or credit, and he asked himself how it was that a generation of railway, and more than a generation of trading with the West, found the people touching bottom, with nothing and less than nothing to show for all the exports and imports and internal developments⁵. The causes of the general poverty of the peasant and of the province as a whole, were not far to seek.

(2)

(A) THE URBAN LOOK AND THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION

A point to be noticed here in this connection is how the whole

1. Wilson, p, 41.

2. Report on the Material Progress of Panjab 1891—1901.

3. Provincial Reports on Material Condition of the People. 1881—1891.

4. History of famine I.G.I.P. vol. I, p, 94.

5. Nash, Vaughan 1900, pp. 87-88.

administration was unconsciously assuming an urban complexion. The prosperity in the country was in fact viewed more from the stand-point of the town than from that of the village, which latter, was the need of the country. The rapid growth of large urban centres was regarded with pride. The construction of rail and road encouraged the process, and the very educational system was adapted more to those who lived by the pen than to those who lived by the plough. In the Panjab the development of the canal system did something to redress the balance, but the villager's ignorance and improvidence robbed the boon of half its advantage, and with the decay of the village community and the establishment of a complicated system of justice administered by town-bred men of desk, the peasant suddenly found himself at the mercy of money-lender, lawyer, and a trader. The first tempted him to borrow, the second to quarrel, and the third to waste. Consequently, the wealth, which rising prices and increasing production brought to the village, was sucked back into the town before it had time to fertilize the soil¹. The more essential need of the province was therefore the creation of something which could replace the village community which had partially protected him from these evils in the past, but which had now decayed under the British rule. More essentially there was a need of something which could teach men to combine to face and remedy these wrongs.

It is astonishing to note that before the government considered the question, in the Una Tehsil of Hoshiarpur, the people themselves had furnished a brilliant example of co-operative efforts. A Rajput society of Panjower, a village of average size, situated on the inner slopes of the Siwaliks, was formed in 1892, which was never fostered by government and of which the very existence was unknown for nearly 10 years. It was founded by the lambardar of the village, named Mian Hira Singh under whose guidance the 55 land owners who joined the society handed over the whole of the undivided land (about 1500 acres) to an elected committee, which was to apply the income from the land in taking over the mortgages held by outsiders on behalf of the mortgagors ; and in making ordinary advance, and generally for the improvement of the village. By 1905² the society had already taken over all the land mortgaged to outsiders at a cost of over Rs. 10,000, had lent about Rs. 3,000 on short loans at 6 percent, and saved the common land from certain dangers³-which was also one of the purposes of its formation⁴.

1. Darling, M.L., P.P.P.D. 1928.

2. when it was reported upon.

3. like the attacks of *chos* (mountain torrents).

4. L.A.M., 222 etc.

The government themselves proceeded only just after the end of our period of study. The first step by them in this direction was taken with the passage of the Land Improvement (1883) and Agriculturist's Loans (1884) Acts. But these Acts were not much successful in their purpose¹. It was in 1900 that the review of the Madras Government of the report of Mr. (Later Sir F.). Nicholson who was placed by them on special duty for the purpose of enquiring into the possibility of introducing a system of agricultural or other land banks, came under the notice of the Government of India. About the same time Mr. H. Duperne after experimenting with village banks in the United Provinces had published a little book, "People's Banks for Northern India," in 1900. This also came under the notice of the Government of India, and as a result the question of introducing Co-operative Credit Societies into India was considered by a committee which met in Calcutta in December, 1900. This committee was of the opinion that societies on Raiffeisen lines might prove suitable. There next appeared the Report of the Famine Commission (May 1901) with the recommendations in favour of Mutual Credit Associations. The whole question was thus referred to a committee which sat at Simla in June and July 1901, and drafted a bill and model rules which were then circulated for opinion and after much discussion, it was only in 1904 that the Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed, which was then put into practice throughout India².

Of the objects of the Panjab Co-operative Societies, said one of the reports, it was to examine the whole economic structure of the province, to study the defects which retarded economic progress, and to discover the factors which contributed to the comparatively low standard of prosperity and thus to devise scheme whereby the people could remedy those deficiencies and remove those factors by organising for self-help and mutual³ help⁷. But unfortunately it was only too late for our period of study.

(B) LAND—A CAUSE OF RUIN

Prior to the British rule the English conception of property in land as transferable marketable commodity absolutely owned and passing from hand to hand like any chattel did not exist⁴. The conception of property in land was introduced only with the introduction of settled law and order,

1. see Chapter 7, Part II.

2. Calvert—*The Law and Principles of Co-operation*, 1921, introduction.

3. Panjab Co-operative Societies Report, 1923, p. 5.

4. L.S.B.I., i pp. 219—24, 70—72.

fixed moderate assessment and security of right and tenure¹, which the British gave to Panjab. The result of all this was that land became a marketable commodity and a striking feature to be noticed in the economic history of the Panjab was the rapid and continuous rise in the price paid for agricultural land. Prior to the Mutiny transfers of land were comparatively rare; but shortly after, they began to attract notice, and by 1872 the increasing value began to cause disquiet to the Government². In 1869-70 the average price paid for over a hundred thousand acres was Rs. 10 per acre. By 1875-76 it had risen to Rs. 20 per acre. Thereafter the movement may be illustrated by the following figures³.

Year	Average price per acre in rupees
1875-76	20
1880-81	18
1885-86	30
1890-91	61
1895-96	59
1900-01	77

The remarkable increase in prices within the last decade of the century may further be noticed from the fact that, where as in 1892 Government sold 8,783 acres on the Chenab canal at an average of Rs. 43 per acre, in 1897 an area of 13,895 acres in the Lahore Rakhs was sold for an average price of Rs. 50 per acre. In 1900 an auction of 9,913 acres in the Chenab canal, selected so as to include both good and bad land in order that the price realized might afford a fair indication of the average market value of land, realized no less than Rs. 110 per acre. Previously some 5,000 acres of favourably situated land near Lyallpur had fetched Rs. 134 per acre⁴.

1. History of the land settlements and of the discovery of the rights of the various classes connected with land, may not here be traced. It will suffice to mention that immediately after annexation, efforts were actually made towards this direction, which resulted into the division of the country into a number of areas, though not necessarily contiguous, in which different types of tenure prevailed.

2. Calvert, W.W.P., 99.

3. *ibid*, 101-103 ; see also the A.R.s for the period.

4. A.R. 1901-1902, vii.

Without going into the details, it may be mentioned here that an enquiry¹ showed that the people themselves ascribed the rise in the price of land to one or more of the following causes.

- (a) Rise in the price of produce.
- (b) Increase of wealth.
- (c) Improvement in communication.
- (d) Development of canal irrigation and the prospects of further development.
- (e) Increase of population.
- (f) The cultivators were stimulated by the high prices to work at their calling with greater interest than formerly² and so secured higher yields.
- (g) The people were more ready to spend money than in former times, they sought to invest in land instead of hoarding it or spending it on jewels.
- (h) Remittance of money to Panjab by the Panjabis working abroad which was invested in land almost regardless of the price.
- (i) The land had been improved and rendered more fertile.
- (j) The continued sub-division of land amongst members of the family, as a result of the customs of inheritance, had increased the demand and so the price.
- (k) Decline in the value of money, and especially the paper rupee³.

To this may be added the increased cost of cultivation⁴.

This remarkable enhancement of values of land, when multiplied by the cultivated area of the province, implied an enormous increase in capital resources of the land-owners. But it was unfortunate that those to whom had come such sudden accession of resources convertible into cash or credit were induced to yield to the temptation of high prices. It was not unoften therefore that these high prices of land led to the indebtedness⁵ of the peasants—an evil which developed into a dangerous form by 1901⁶. The most unfortunate developments as a result of this rise in price may be summed up as that, it attracted the lawyer and middleman in general, as well as the cultivator, to invest their money in

1. This enquiry was conducted through the inspectors of Co-operative Societies which were established in 1904. But majority of the facts mentioned below are more or less true also for the period before 1901.

2. But there was not much improvement in the methods of cultivation, see Chapter VII.

3. Calvert—W.W.P., pp. 114—115.

4. This point was not mentioned in the report of enquiry quoted above.

5. see Indebtedness (following)

6. A.R. 1901—02, p. VIII.

purchase, rather than improvement ; it tended to encourage gambling in a future rise, which appeared more important than increased production ; it led to the enactment of special legislation¹ ; it supplied the basis for a facile credit which brought immense harm to population insufficiently educated to understand its dangers ; it tended to encourage tenancy and to hinder the tenant from rising to the position of a proprietor. To it could be traced not a little responsibility for the economic backwardness of the province and particularly of the peasant and the labouring class, for it drew into land investment of many crores of rupees that, but for the hope of further rise, might have been forced into industrial enterprise or put to productive use. It made the land too attractive as an objet of investment, but it yielded little advantage to the cause of agriculture as a whole².

The rise in the price of the agricultural land, it may be added, instead of benefiting the owner, not in few cases brought a ruin for him. The lawyers and the Bunyas (money-lenders) were of course happy.

(C) THE UN-ECONOMIC HOLDING

Another fact to be noticed is that the proportion of the agriculturist to the total population of the province was increasing, and as the conception of property was applied to land, after the death of the father, it had to be divided among sons and further after the death of each son it was to be divided among his sons. Thus division and sub-division took place. The exact number of separate owners can not be discovered from the official reports, but according to the calculation of Sir James Wilson (published in 1910) the average area owned per owner was 15 acres ; the average area cultivated by owners was per owner, 7 acres ; and the average area cultivated by tenants was 5 acres per tenant. This average for the province, however, did not represent the actual facts fairly. In the congested tracts, Jullundur, Gurdaspur, and Hoshiarpur, where irrigation from wells was common, the average holding was four acres. In the south east, where there was no irrigation, holdings were much larger, and similarly in the west³.

Yet, it gave at least the idea as to how the things generally were. Under most systems of cultivation known to European farmers an area of about 25 acres was necessary to provide for a family. But in the Panjab it was noteworthy that any one owning 50 acres or more was apt to

1. see *Indebtedness* (following)

2. Calvert—W.W.P., p. 97 ; A.R. 1901—02 p. VIII. 119 ; also see N.P.R. Panjab 1894, p. 490.

3. see Wilson, Sir James, 25.

regard himself a big landlord, to give up cultivating with his own hands and to rent his land and live on the proceeds. If from the cultivator's income there were deducted the interest on the sale-price of his land and the wages of his labour, there were not many cases in which some profit was left. The holdings in the Panjab, were thus getting uneconomic with their divisions and sub-divisions, with their increasing prices and with the increasing rate of wages¹.

(D) FRUIT NOT FOR THE GROWER

A great rise in prices of food-grains in the Panjab during the British rule must also be noticed.

In Sikh times if in the large cities of the Panjab wheat was selling at a maund for a rupee, it was considered rather dear than otherwise. Prices in good years before the era of railways were very low, and fluctuations of prices from year to year were not infrequently great and violent. Difference in prices between distant places were large. In those days each place had to be more or less self-sufficient, as means of communication were few. A good harvest gave surplus but there were no means of getting rid of the surplus and prices fell. In a bad year scarcity caused prices to rise, but no importation. In the 'San Chalis' famine (1783), price of wheat in the Sialkot district rose to 18 seers, then to 6 and finally to $1\frac{3}{4}$ seers. In the 'Das Maha' famine of Samat 1869 (1812 A. D.) wheat sold at $6\frac{1}{4}$ and Bajra at 8 seers². But after the development of the means of communication, such fluctuations were not possible.

The chief feature in the Panjab prices is great fall in them during the first few years after annexation³. Thus in Jullundur after the regular settlement (completed in 1851) prices fell greatly, but after that recovered and thus tended to rise higher and higher⁴, as it will be clear from below.

1. Ibid, pp. 80—82.

2. see S.R. Sialkot—Prinsep 1863.

3. see above.

4. S.R. Jullundur—W.E. Purser 1898, p. 155. Mr. Purser's note—Appendix XII attached to Assessment Report of Tehsil New Shehr.

Average for the principal food grains in quinquennial periods (seers per rupee).

Year	Wheat		Gram		Barley		Maize		Jowar	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
1846—51	31	40	33	42	37	51	46	49	48	49
1851—56	48	58	64	76	64	100	63	81	62	56
1856—61	52	56	66	76	65	78	53	65	48	53
1861—66	30	38	40	48	40	58	43	47	38	38
1866—71	22	25	19	30	27	32	27	34	21	23
1871—76	26	53	33	39	32	42	34	49	30	34
1876—82	22	26	26	36	31	33	25	30	26	28

In Jhelum again we see¹ :

Year	Wheat	Gram	Bajra	Moth
1853—60	49	46	55	67
1861—65	34	31	36	44
1866—70	24	22	25	27
1871—75	28	25	35	41

Price of staples in the Panjab at selected centres after 1870 and till 1900 were as given below².

1. see S.R. Jhelum—R.G. Thompson.

2. I.G.I.P., i, 155.

(a) Average prices of trade transaction.

(b) Average prices received by agriculturists.

In seers per rupee.

Selected Staples	Selected Centres	Percentage of area u/crop 1900-1	Average for ten years ending		
			1880	1990	1900
Wheat	{ Delhi Amritsar Rawalpindi	29.1	20.39 23.18 22.44	18.16 21.41 20.46	15.45 16.73 16.25
Gram	{ Delhi Amritsar Rawalpindi	12.5	25.77 29.61 26.37	23.93 28.78 25.58	21.42 21.99 20.55
Jowar	{ Delhi Amritsar Rawalpindi	7.0	27.08 31.38 28.37	23.28 28.37 29.54	21.60 20.29 24.08
Bajra	{ Delhi Amritsar Rawalpindi	10.8	23.65 26.09 28.84	20.64 22.06 28.63	18.62 16.94 19.97
Salt	{ Delhi Amritsar Rawalpindi	...	9.03 10.53 10.45	11.94 14.09 14.24	11.24 12.05 13.40

Besides¹ the improvement in communication, which was accompanied by the opening of foreign markets, there were other causes of the rise of prices. Thus the Shahpur Settlement Report noted in 1866 that the large influx of silver from Europe then going on was one of the causes of the rise of prices². This was the cause operating throughout India. But after the Mutiny money was more plentiful in the Panjab for special reasons³. The increase in the cost of cultivation must have also played some part. Some Settlement Reports give the prices of plough, cattle and agricultural implements, which show that the cost of cultivation increased during the British rule. Thus in Gujrat prices of agricultural implements were found to have increased from the total Rs. 72-10-9 during the Sikh times to Rs. 97-8-6 in 1874.⁴

The increase in the prices of food grains, it may be assumed, must have added considerably to the general prosperity of the cultivators. But

1. For further detail regarding prices see Appendix D.

2. S.R. Shahpur—1866 p. 89.

3. see above.

4. S.R. Gujrat, 1874, p. 85.

unfortunately, the following facts show that the actual tiller of land did not draw as much benefit as the other classes did.

A thing to be noticed in this connection is that the number of tenants increased¹ in the Panjab by leaps and bounds as the time passed. The following figures make this clear :—

Year	Tenants at will	Occupancy tenants ²	Total
1872-73	650,000	379,000	1,100,000
1882-83	1,096,000	512,000	1,608,000
1892-93	2,874,000	758,000	3,632,000
1902-03	3,077,000	940,000	4,017,000

These figures do not represent the exact change as more and more of those shown as tenants-at-will seemed to be proprietors who had rented a small plot from a neighbour ; and the colonization of new canal irrigated areas had led to a large increase in the number of crown tenants. However, there could be no doubt that the number of tenants was increasing.

Another change to be noticed is that the proportion of the area cultivated by the tenants to total cultivated area was increasing.

Thus in 1875-76, 44 percent of the cultivated area of the province was held by tenants. By 1901 the exact area held by the tenants increased to 55.6 percent of the total cultivated area³.

Among those tenants was the custom, so peculiar to the province, of payment of rent in the form of a fixed share of the produce. The tendency of rents was, especially towards the end of the century, towards kind rates. Where landlord had the command of the situation, this tendency towards

1. One of the causes of this was the increase in indebtedness among the agriculturists. See the followings.

2. An occupancy tenant was he who had right to hold his land so long as he paid the rent fixed by authority, and to pass it on to his descendants on the same terms. A tenant-at-will was a tenant from year to year, and his rent was determined by the agreement between himself and his landlord. The Panjab Tenancy Acts of 1868 and of 1868 and of 1887, were passed to protect the right of the tenants on land. See for details...S.M. prs—196—etc. ; L.S.B.I., ii, 705—9 ; L.A.M. 54—63 and 70—6. Also see Rev. & Agri. August-1882. Revenue, 33 & 34 Amendment of the Panjab Tenancy Act ; The Indian Economist, i, 1868—70, August 10, 1869, p. 16.

3. Calvert, W.W.P., 86—87 ; A.R. 1901—1902, 40. Also see Rev. Admn. Reports 1896—97, 1898—99.

produce rents was most marked¹. Thus where as in 1875-76, 52 percent of the tenants-at-will were paying cash rents, in 1900-01, the number of tenants-at-will paying cash rents was only 21.6 percent. The rates of the rent in kind varied from $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce and speaking generally the tendency of the rents, especially towards the end of the century, was to rise².

It is clear, therefore, that when the number of tenants increased paying their rent increasingly in kind, the benefits of the increasing prices of their produce could not entirely be enjoyed by them. It was not unnatural that these tenants³ favoured rents in cash but the authority of their master in the matter was stronger.

Further, the assumption that high prices are good for the cultivator can be correct only if he has more to sell than to buy, but if it is the other way round, he benefits no more than any other class of consumers. In the Panjab, the man with twenty or thirty acres could generally have more to sell than to buy, and if his land was secured against drought by canal or well, high prices were an obvious advantage. But where a man was lucky if he had half a dozen⁴ acres to cultivate, they were as likely as not an evil, for it was only in good years that he had much to sell, while in bad years he might have to buy the very grain he ate. Generally the produce raised on a holding was not more than sufficient, if it was ever sufficient, to support the family of the cultivator. It was only the larger owners cultivating extensive holdings who had a surplus for sale⁵. For the smaller holders high prices were probably a curse, as for the large they were clearly a blessing.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the increased expenses of cultivation fell on tenants, while the landlord received the full benefit of the rise in value of his share of the produce. The Government demand in terms of produce was steadily declining; thus the return to the landlord was increasing from these two causes⁶, while tiller of the soil suffered.

1. Rev. Admn. Report 1897-98.

2. A.R. 1901-1902, pp.x-xi, 81-82; Calvert-W.W.P., 87.

3. Many of whom were formerly owners but now after mortgaging their land, had been reduced to this state.

4. see above.

5. Panjab Famine Report, 1879, 432.

6. Calvert, W.W.P., 104.

(E) THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

The system of Land Revenue, too, was a debatable subject. According to some authorities, it was no less a cause of the poverty of the Panjab peasants. The Government themselves were never tired of repeating that the Land Revenue demand under them was much lighter than that under the Sikh rule¹. The average assessment per cultivated area was Rs. 1-1-3 in 1868-69, ten years later it was only 15 annas 3 pies ; in 1888-89 it was 15 annas 7 pies ; and in 1898-99 it was Rs. 1-2-0².

The rise in the price at which land sold as compared with revenue assessed on it was a clear proof, it was reported in 1896, that the land revenue was not being unduly enhanced³. Thus in 1869-70 the average price paid for over a hundred thousand acres which was Rs. 10 per acre, was equivalent to 18 times the annual land revenue, but in 1900-01, the price per cultivated acre was 89 times the land revenue. And the Administration always boasted as in 1859-60 that "The very rare resort to coercive processes in the realization of the revenue was the best possible proof of its general moderation, and of the punctuality of its payment⁵."

But in this connection it must be remembered that while the policy of the Government had always been to keep the assessments fairly light, it was felt necessary that they should be adequate not only on general grounds, but for a special reason⁶. There were a number of chiefs in the Panjab whose income being wholly or mainly derived from the share of the land revenue assigned to them, rose or fell with the Government demand ; if that was unduly light, they not the State, were the sufferers, and in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, their power was great for good and evil, according as they were contended or the reverse. More political danger was to be apprehended from a Panjabi aristocracy impoverished by inadequate assessment, than from a thriving peasantry (as he called them in 1875-76) called upon to pay a moderate and equitable demand⁷.

The Inelasticity—It was, however, the inelasticity of the British fixed assessment, light though it was, which was more objectionable.

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1. see Finance, chapter No. X.
 2. Calvert, W.W.P., 131 ; also see R.E.D., 24.
 3. Rev. Admn. Report, 1894—95.
 4. Calvert W.W.P., pp. 101—103.
 5. Rev. Adm. Report, 1859—60.
 6. L.S.B.I. 1892, 606.
 7. A.R. 1875—76 ; L.S.B.I. 1892, 607.

The increasing indebtedness of the agricultural classes under the British rule was it, which called attention to the evil, but unfortunately, it was only very late.

The substitution of a fixed cash payment for a fluctuating payment in kind was a subject objectionable to some. To get coin, said those who objected to it, the ryot had to go to the coin merchant. And the rigid revenue system which had crystallised around the cultivator only increased his dependency as time went on¹. The policy was only the logical outcome of the British revenue system. Once it was granted that a fixed inflexible tribute was the right thing, there could not be any objection to enforcing it in famine years. The bad year was taken into account when once in thirty years, or possibly less, the assessment was revised. Ergo—so ran the official defence—the ryot should be able in the bad years to disgorge from the surplus he enjoyed in the good one. The only flaw in the argument was that the ryot had not the wherewithal to pay, one reason being that the Banya² took his surplus³.

As early as 1860-61, a doubt was expressed by some authorities if the famine in the central section of the Panjab was not intensified by the pressure of the Government Land Revenue demand. But Col. R. Baird Smith who was on a special duty to report on the famine, denied if it could be possible⁴. In 1871 the Financial Commissioner protested against the suggestion that transfers of land⁵ were due to the land revenue demand; he asserted that while in "other parts of India," land was sold for Government revenue, "we have never taken such harsh means in the Panjab⁶." In 1872, however, the Lieutenant-Governor was disposed to believe that "in some districts of the Panjab the rigidity of the Government demand may force the people into debt."⁷ But in 1875-76 the view taken was that "revenue system was sufficiently elastic to afford relief to the people where it may be necessary⁸."

For twenty years the fixity was maintained by successive Lieutenant-Governors and Financial Commissioners, under the mistaken belief that

1. Nash, Vaghan, 1900, 219—220.

2. The money lender.

3. Nash, Vaghan, 1900, 89—90.

4. Col. Baird Smith, Report on the Famine of 1860—61, 11.

5. to the moneylenders for debt.

6. Rev. Admn. Report, 1870—71.

7. Rev. Admn. Report 1871—72.

8. Rev. Admn. Report, 1875—76.

as the assessments were absolutely light when compared with the yield of an average year, their rigidity was teaching prudence to an improvident people. For twenty years the axiom that the profits of good years were, or ought to be, more than a set off against the losses of bad, held good. But as settlements became more and more elaborate and inquisitorial in character, the old axiom was discovered to be a paradox. The sacred principle of fixity had already been broken by Princep's water advantage rate¹ payable only on crops actually irrigated, and the same principle of an assessment which fluctuated with the area of crops actually sown was unostentatiously followed in the assessment of lands in the bed of the Indus and Chenab rivers, such lands being subjected to great vicissitudes owing to the uncertain action of the inundations in the flood season and to the changes in the streams themselves. Similar conditions existed in the desert tracts to the south and west where sowing was impossible without adequate rainfall. The wide extension of the fluctuation system was strongly urged by Mr. Thorburn², and though his proposals were not accepted, they served to extend the steady tendency to extend the fluctuating system in canal-irrigated, desert and riverain areas³.

The system of fluctuating assessment was a method which adopted the burdens to the crops of every harvest, and which taxed no more of the ryot's land than was actually fruitful. But the plan was adopted only in districts which relied for their water upon the varying overflow from the rivers. This 'flood revenue' proved practicable and successful, but unfortunately, some system of rain-revenue had not yet been worked out, although it was a burning question among the highest officials of the Panjab Government in 1901. By that time, however, the evil part which the inelasticity had played was already such that could give some lesson to those who some time before had failed to understand it⁴.

About the year 1900, an official inquiry in four districts of the province showed that the proportion of debts for land revenue to the whole was about 11 percent. But land revenue being a fixed burden which must twice a year be met, crops or no crops, rain or drought, had more than a quantitative importance. The high officials who conducted the enquiry in question described the part that it played in the peasant's road to ruin :—

1. see Finance, chapter No. X.

2. Thorburn, M.M., 1886, 106—15, 180—2, 332.

3. S.M. 72.

4. Nash, Vaghan, pp. 246—47.

Ordinarily the small cultivator got into debt by borrowing grain for food after a short harvest, and failing to repay his debt in the ensuing rabi (spring crop). He began to take grain in small quantities in, say November or December, and lived wholly or partially on grain advances until his spring crop was cut. If the yield was insufficient he became involved. The creditor took part of the crop from the threshing floor, and accommodated the debtor by paying his revenue. In that case the peasant, in five cases out of six, was doomed. Till the catastrophe (of expropriation) came, he was more or less a serf, making over much of each harvest to the creditor, and bound to put up with any debit balance put down against him in the account.

Here was the way, how famine could come without any failure of the monsoon¹.

Rent or Revenue—ii. Another thing that strikes us is that the Land Revenue system afforded a fiscal method under which Government first fixed the standard of living and cultivation, and then proceeded to drain off all the winning of the people which rose above the mark that had been fixed, a process of bleeding, as Lord Salisbury called it, which left the ryot without staying power when famine came². The officer appointed to value the land and fix the assessment made his shot at the average crop and determined the demand which was to hold for the next twenty or thirty years; and in theory it was understood that the cultivator was to enjoy not less than half the profits of his farm, besides the privilege of subsisting on its produce. It was further understood that the good year would enable him to pay for the bad ones; this, indeed, was the very essence of the business. In practice, however a single drought upset the whole basket of theories. This was the position of the five-acre man, and no doctrine of average relieved him from the recourse to the money-lender to satisfy his essential needs. The remissions and suspensions³, such as they were, were themselves an admission that the estimate was too much of a fair-weather fore-cast⁴. At the end of the assessment period the authorities made another shot. They found that since their last valuation, prices had advanced, new railways had been constructed, cultivation had been intensified—or might be intensified under a little pressure; and after the due application of tests of all kinds, geological, botanical, hydrographical, matereological, arboricultural, etc., it was discovered that land and farmer

1. Nash, Vaghan, 223—224.

2. *ibid*, 245—246.

3. In times of scarcity and drought the land revenue was sometimes suspended and in rare cases remitted.

4. Nash, Vaghan, 240—241.

could bear an extra 30 percent or so on the old assessment¹. Prices may have been miscalculated, the weather forecast may turn out false, the estimate of family's needs may fall short of the truth—in a word, the whole bundle of probabilities may altogether fail to square with the facts—but the officer had to play his part².

This was in fact the outcome of the fact that the British officials agreed in treating the land tax as in the nature of rent³. This policy made the government to squeeze from the cultivator as much as possible. There was no proper apportionment of burdens, in which the wealthy financial and commercial interests, then scarcely touched, could be made to pay their share⁴.

Other Evils—iii. Connected with land revenue, there were other evils. Thus according to 'Sabha Kapurthala', one of the reasons of the miserable condition of the agricultural classes was the illegal extortions to which they were exposed at the hand of settlement officials during the settlements⁵. And the bribe which the agriculturists had to give to the Tehsil and Thana undertakings in addition to land revenue and sundry other cesses, was according to Rahbar-i-Hind, no less a cause for his distressed condition⁶.

(F) THE MACHINE RULE

"Under the Native States", said a man who knew India as few other men knew it, "there are laws of leather ; in British territory laws of iron".

1. See S.R. Amritsar—J.A. Grant, 30—31 ; S.R. Jhelum—Thompson, 119, 112 ; S.R. Muzaffargarh—O'Brien, 110 ; S.R. Montgomery—Messrs C.H. Roe and W.E. Purser, 155 ; S.R. Gurdaspur—Mr. (later Sir) L.W. Dane, 39 ; in all these reports the Settlement Officers show prices of agricultural produce in Panjab had increased which could justify increased Government demand of Land Revenue.

2. Nash, Vaghan, 242—244.

3. rather than as revenue. Without going into details it may be said, there was indeed a great controversy between those who would like to take it as a rent and those who took it as a revenue and it was not merely an intellectual controversy. It could not be indifferent by what name we called the land tax. Because if it was rent, the cultivator would hold (as Lord Salisbury as Indian Secretary said) the Government in strictness entitled to all that remained after wages and profits had been paid, and he would do what he would to hasten the advent of the day when the State would no longer be kept by any weak compromises from the enjoyment of its undoubted rights. If it was taken as revenue, the cultivator would note the vast disproportion of its incidence compared to that of other taxes, and his efforts would tend to remedy the inequality and to lay up on other classes and interests a more equitable share of the fiscal burden. Under a system of taxation, it may be added, the demand would be determined by the requirements of Government, the burden being distributed according to certain fiscal principles, among the various classes of the State. But in India nothing of this sort happened—Nash, Vaghan, 235—236.

4. *ibid*, 248—249.

5. Home, Secret N.P.R., Panjab, N.W.P. 1884, 387.

6. Home, Secret, N.P.R., Panjab, 1888, 8, 9.

In 1866 when Panjab was absorbed in the legal system of the regulation province, the Government of India, through Sir Henry Maine, the then Law Member of Council, publicly declared that, were the Council to dose India with English law : "One of the most cumbersome systems in the world", there could hardly be any censure too heavy from them, and that should the attempt be made, it would be a most intolerable hardship for the millions of India. But notwithstanding, within the next few years not only was the attempt made, but it was persisted in for about fifteen years, until a symposium of selections and adoptions. from the legal system of Europe had become the statute law of India. Right from 1866 the Panjab had been increasingly law and lawyer ridden. We find that in that year five Bengal Regulations and seventy-seven Acts were in force there in, and thenceforward, until about the middle of the 'eighties, the annual output of Acts applicable to the province averaged seven, and in the most active mid-period were ten. It was only after 1885 that the produce began to decline¹.

Particularly in the field of economic and social relations, over the disputes in which the Chief Court and subordinate judiciary exercised exclusive jurisdiction, the laws in force were conceived through Council by English lawyers ignorant with the peculiar position of India and with her diverse nationalities and conditions. Hardly any Act was passed between 1870 and 1884, which was comprehensible to layman.

Prior to the annexation every man managed his own affairs² and the social system of the Panjab was simple. The villages still followed their old tribal customs administered by committees of elders³. The despatch of 1849 constituting the Board of Administration had recognized the importance of upholding native institutions and practices as far as they were consistent with the distribution of justice to all classes, of maintaining village communities in all their integrity and of imposing and consolidating popular institutions⁴. But it was not long before all these principles were forgotten and the policy of the despatch of Lord Dalhousie was thus so far exceeded that in less than twenty years the British system of administering justice had become the law of the country⁵. All the complications, technical law courts, barristers, and pleaders, all congregated in respect of the Panjab by Lord Curzon under the contemptuous

1. Thorburn, S.S., P.P.W., 243—244.

2. *ibid*, 245.

3. L. S. M., 26.

4. C. L. Tupper, Customary Law, 1881, 2.

5. *ibid*, 4.

phrase "the complex paraphernalia of the Chief Court", were introduced. The law governing the simplest of contracts—a loan, lease, or mortgage had now become so complex and artificial that all such cases had to be referred to professional advisers. The masses had neither the intelligence nor the money to do so, and this was the reason that the few¹ who had both aided by the law, exploited the many². And the difficulties of the hair-splitting ruling were same on the criminal side as on the civil³.

This legal system of the British Government was in fact one of the causes of the development of indebtedness among the peasants in the Panjab. The Acts, Codes, and Rules effecting the relations between ignorant debtors and educated buniah-creditors, all tended to benefit the latter at the expense of the former⁴.

The 'Victoria Press' in its issue dated 2nd June 1888 protested that petition writers charged the peasants very heavily and induced them to fight out their cases up to the Chief Court⁵. 'Zamindar' complained in 1891 that peasants were being ruined by the money-lenders with the help of the defective Civil Laws⁶. In 1896 wrote Rahber-i-Hind that as the law afforded no protection to debtors against money lenders, people had commenced murdering the Mahajans⁷. The official reports and papers admitted that the existing Civil and Revenue laws had proved injurious to the interests of the peasants⁸. Yet, there was no escape from them.

Litigation was one of the great causes of the poverty of the Panjab peasant, yet unfortunately, it was always on the increase⁹. The total number of suits decided during the two official years 1849-50 and 1850-51, was 23,378, which when compared to the population showed that

1. The money lenders and other such privileged classes.

2. Thus for instance under the Easement Act of 1882, if a villager had familiar pathway closed to his ancestral field, he had to be told in English—translation into any Indian Language, with or without a literature, being impossible—that he must sue "the dominant owner for a release of the servient heritage under chapter IV and V of the Easement Act." As he did not know English—the words were hardly intelligible,—if the man meant to fight and wanted to win, he put his case into the hands of a lawyer, and very likely a year or so afterwards had to mortgage land to meet his law expenses, whereupon an assault or riot ensued, with consequent complications, all involving expenditure.—Thorburn, P. P. W., 246—247.

3. *ibid*, 250.

4. Thorburn, M. M. P., 1886, 95—96.

5. N. P. R. 1898, 73. (Panjab)

6. N. P. R. 1891, 6. (Panjab)

7. Money-lender N. P. R. Panjab, 1896.

8. N. P. R.—Panjab, 1892, 6.

9. See N. P. R.—Panjab, 1890, 79.

there had been one suit to every 217·51 persons¹. Yet there was a steady increase of litigation and in 1860 the number had reached 83, 231. The increase was chiefly observable between bankers or traders and agriculturists². The amount of litigation in the Panjab was more than that of Oudh, Bengal and that of Central Provinces in 1868³. The total number of original suits instituted in the Civil Courts of the Panjab during 1881 was 254,690 and their total value was returned as Rs. 16,426, 172⁴. In 1901⁵ the number of suits had reached the figure 232,244 and the value of suits which was Rs. 24,024,131 in 1900 rose to Rs. 37,473,291 in 1901. Relatively to population, it was reported in 1901, that the Panjab was the most litigious province in India. Four-fifths of the suits brought in civil courts were claims for money or moveable property. The actual number of such suits in the Panjab was on an average of years nearly double the number instituted in the adjoining United Provinces, where rent litigation occupied the prominent place which in the Panjab was taken by suits for the recovery of debt. These debts were for the most part due from agriculturists to money-lenders⁶.

(G) THE INDEBTEDNESS

*Jera Sahukaran nal rakhe nit rala
Orak wenda us nu kha.*

He who trusts the moneylenders, in the end, will be eaten up ; says the above proverb⁷. Yet to have a moneylender was as big a necessity as to have a Guru (a teacher) because another proverb says :—

*Guru bin gat nahin,
Shah bin pat nahin.*

(Without the Guru, no salvation ; without the moneylender, no reputation.)

There⁸ is indeed an ample evidence to show that when the province was annexed, though security and credit were at a low ebb, the moneylender was established all over the country, though probably only in the towns

1. A. R. 1849—50 to 1850—51, 74.

2. A. R. 1862—63, 2.

3. N. P. R. Panjab, N. W. P., etc., 1868, 45—46.

4. A. R. 1881—82, 66, 68.

5. Although this rise had no real importance due to the institution of a single heavy suit in Rawalpindi valued at nearly 1½ crores of rupees.

6. A. R. 1900—1901, 61 ; A. R. 1901—1902, 95 ; XIV.

7. R. Machonachie, Selected Agricultural Proverbs of the Panjab, 1890, 203.

8. S. R. Lahore, 1873, 60.

and larger villages. In a tehsil of the Amritsar district, thus, most villages were said to have two or three shops of village grocers and money lenders, who were spoken of as great extortionists¹. In the neighbouring tehsil of Narowal, the cultivators were described as being in more than an ordinary state of indebtedness². The cultivators of Gujranwala were found to be entirely in the hands of their "shah" (moneylender), who reaped all the profits³. There are many other official reports of the time, which give us a similar evidence.

In fact, during the turbulent period which intervened between the death of Ranjit Singh and the inauguration of the British rule, amid the constant struggle for the succession, great exactions were made upon the agricultural classes to replenish the empty exchequer and to furnish soldiers for the rival factions. The cultivation of the soil was consequently much neglected, and the tenants, improvident themselves, not being able to meet the requirements of the State on the one hand, and of their own domestic necessities and comforts on the other, and often not being able to provide seed for the periodical sowings, resorted to the Buniahs, who lent them money on exhorbiant terms⁴.

But if debt was common before the British rule, the moneylender was not so powerful as he subsequently became. Firstly because of the existence of a vigorous village community, which throughout the province was generally strong enough to hold him in partial check and secondly because of the apathy of the State towards recovery—there being no formal courts of justice, applying strict-mechanical law, as under the British rule⁵.

Under the British rule, both of the above checks on the authority of the moneylender, were weakening. The British law afforded no protection to debtor against moneylender⁶, it was rather injurious to the interest of the peasants⁷. Meanwhile, other influences were working towards the increase of indebtedness in the Panjab.

Before the annexation, the proprietary unit being the tribe or a community collectively and individual rights in the land being restricted to the

1. S. R. Amritsar 1854, 67.

2. *ibid.*, 146.

3. S. R. Gujranwala, 1856.

4. *An Old Panjabee*, 1878—*The Panjab and N. W. F. of India*, 7.

5. See S. R. Montgomery, 1873, 29. : *Imperial Paper* dated 19th Jany, N. P. R. —*Panjab*, 1889, 38.

6. *Rahbar-i-Hind*, 9 th April, 1896. N. P. R.—*Panjab*, 1891.

7. See *Zamindar* May 1891—N. P. R. *Panjab*—1892, 6.

plot each member actually cultivated ; alienation of a cultivating rights, unless approved of by the whole body of share-holders, were impossible¹. But by the limitation of their demand the British created a transferable proprietary right in land vested in owners responsible for the land revenue. When a fixed and comparatively lenient revenue assessment was imposed upon the cultivator, he knew what exactly he had to pay and in a good harvest found himself with a substantial surplus, which he could dispose of as he pleased. Moreover, with greater security, better communication and growing towns, this surplus could always be marketed. The result of all this was that the price of the land began to increase and the peasant proprietor of the Panjab found himself in possession of valuable asset. With the development of wealth the standard of living of the peasant began to rise². The high water-mark of the peasant prosperity, meaning thereby freedom from indebtedness and the possession of unencumbered holdings and a reserve of food-stuff, was probably reached in the Mutiny year, when the harvests were abundant, creditors too fearful to be exacting, and officials too preoccupied to act as debt registrars and collectors. In the following years, however, the tide began to turn with short harvests as also when the system of administration in the Panjab began to lose its early simplicity.

It was in 1860-61, when the first of those famine calamities occurred which in combination with the British (legal) "system", were the prominent cause of the ruin of a large part of "the finest peasantry in India". Higher standard of living had increased the needs of the agriculturists and during the period of distress, loans at high interests, were freely incurred, and with the money, the revenue liabilities were met, food provided, and farm stock replaced³. The small holder began to borrow more freely than he had done ever before and the mortgage of land that was rare in the days of the Sikhs increased.

In 1871-72, the Lieutenant-Governor of Panjab expressed his opinion that "the loyalty and contentment of the peasant proprietors is of far greater importance than the maintenance of an economic principle however unimpeachable, and he would see with satisfaction any measure introduced which may strengthen the position of the proprietary body against the money-lending class⁴." In 1872-73, the Lieutenant-Governor

1. Imperial Paper 19th Jany. 1889. Home. Secret, N. P. R. Panjab, 1889, 38 ; also see Aftab-i-Panjab, 12th July, Home. Secret N. P. R. Panjab, etc., 1879.

2. Darling M. L., P. P. P. Debt, 1928, 205—206.

3. Thorburn S. S.—P. P. W., 1904, 232—233.

4. Rev. Admn. Report, 1871—72.

held, while, speaking generally, there was nothing to cause anxiety in the extent to which or the circumstances under which land in the province was changing hands, individual instances had come under his notice, in which land-holders of substance had become hopelessly involved in dealing with the money-lending classes¹.

In 1872, in addition to the existing legislation², an officer had suggested a further legislative action to protect the peasant population from usurer and save their land from alienation by sale or mortgage. Enquiries were instituted in the Panjab on his suggestion and commenting on the replies of the different officers on the subject, the Lieutenant-Governor remarked in 1874 after forwarding various arguments³, that there was great reason to fear that to increase the restrictions on the sale or transfer of land, or to further interfere with the freedom of contract between the money-lender and the agriculturist, would operate simply to deprecate the value of land as a security and raise still higher the rate of interest, and, while the measure would fail to teach prudence to the improvident, it would tend to destroy the habit of self-reliance and industry which characterized many of the cultivating races of the Panjab, and was one great cause of its agriculturist prosperity⁴.

In his report on the indebtedness of the Mohammedan population of the Dera Ismail Khan district in 1884⁵ and in his remarkable book 'Mussalmans and Moneylenders in the Panjab', published in 1886, Mr. Thorburn, the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan, however, vividly depicted, how the money-lender was increasingly dominating the Panjab peasants, to which, now, exhaustive official enquiries followed.

'Zamindar' in its issue for the month of May, 1891, wrote a long article as to how the peasants were ruined by the money lenders, with

1. Rev. Adm. Report, 1872—73.

2. Measures taken at various times for the protection of the land owners of the Panjab were (a) the enforcement of the custom of pre-emption. (b) The restriction of transfers by landowners belonging to agricultural tribes. (c) Exemption from sale in execution of decree of land and other property of agriculturists (See for details L. A. M.—1908, 6-18).

3. For instance he said in Panjab 1 only out of 125 was annually sued for debt whereas in England and Wales 1 person in 22 was annually sued for debt in the country courts alone. During the five years ending 1874; sale of land for debt in execution of decree of court was almost unknown; in voluntary sales only 1 proprietor out of 334 parted with land in the year; the number of mortgages averaged less than 15,000 in the year, being at the rate of 1 mortgage to 133 proprietors. On an average, not more than 2 acres per mile were annually mortgaged.

4. Selection from Records, New Series, N. XIII; see also Adm. Rev. Report, 1873—

5. See Home, 1883, Judicial, October, 252—254.

the help of the defective British Civil law¹. In fact by that time the press in the Panjab had increasingly begun to express their sympathy for the suffering peasantry and in the same year commenting upon the opinion of different officers who had made an enquiry on the subject remarked the Lieutenant-Governor, "from the whole body of opinions as well as from the whole statistics it may, I consider, be safely assumed to be proved that it is a fact.....that under the influence of indebtedness and of our present law and Civil Court procedure transfers of land are proceeding in all districts in increasing ratio, and in many with dangerous rapidity, and that measures to check this process, so far as it is due to the action of our laws and courts, are required throughout the Province." "We have in fact", he added, "come to a point where we must soon make a decided change in some direction²." And in 1899, again the Governor-General in Council admitted that political danger from the expropriation of the cultivating classes existed, was increasing, and the Government of India could not decline or even postpone remedial action to which the Secretary of State for India agreed³.

The indebtedness of the Panjab peasant was usually ascribed⁴ to the sudden enhancement of credit due to new conditions introduced by the British Government; to the abuse of this credit by the clever usurer who encouraged borrowing in order to secure control of the production; to the famines of 1861, 1869, etc., and heavy mortality amongst cattle which drove the cultivators to borrow and so involved them in the money-lender's clutches; to the rigidity of land-revenue collection accentuated by the tactics of the usurer who seized the whole produce and compelled the cultivator to borrow afresh for the State demand; and to the system of Civil law which was unsuitable in as much as it favoured the clever moneylender against the ignorant peasant⁵. To this could be added a few more causes like: the smallness of the ordinary holding and its grotesque fragmentation and extravagant expenditure upon marriages and domestic ceremonial⁶. The backward state of education among the peasants and their inability to keep or check accounts was still another cause⁷.

1. N. P. R. Panjab, 1822, 6.

2. Rev. Agri., December, 1891. Rev., 10—11. It also contains the summary of opinions of officers and many other details on the subject.

3. Home 1899, Judicial, B, 57.

4. For the press opinion see Home—1992, Public, May, 3/4, Part B.; Home 1894, Public, May, 98—99, B.

5. Calvert, W. W. P. 1922, 132.

6. Darling, M. L.—P. P. P. D., 34—53, 147.

7. Home, Secret, N. P. R., Panjab, 1890, 79—Akhabar-i-Kaisari, 1st March.

For twenty years (from 1870), the moneylender had been entirely uncontrolled by either law, custom or authority; and in this brief space situation had developed into a serious form. For ten years (the last decade of the century) all the old remedies for usury and many new ones were propounded and discussed; and at last, as the new century opened, the bull was taken by the horns and the Land Alienation Act was passed (1901). Henceforward, the professional moneylender could not dispossess an agriculturist from his land for more than twenty years¹.

The Panjab Land Alienation Act, it was reported in 1902 "is one of the most important legislative measures which the Indian Government has ever passed, not only as effecting profoundly the condition of the cultivating ownership throughout the Panjab, but also as being likely to serve as a model for other provinces where the expropriation of the peasantry by the money-lender is a social and political danger²".

But before this important Act was passed, it was reported in 1901, 8.6 percent of the total area and 13 percent of cultivated area had already passed under mortgage³.

(H) INEFFICIENCY AND WASTE AMONG THE PEOPLE

The entire British Administration was designed far more for the benefit of a few lawyers and Banyas than for the great mass of the peasants. The British Raj and the Banya Raj, it was usually said, ate up the crops of the agriculturist, and what one left the other devoured⁴. Some of the papers in Panjab in fact had the opinion that the very existence of the British rule in India was a cause of the poverty and indebtedness of the peasants. The country, according to them, was being gradually drained of its wealth to supply to the requirements of England⁵. But let us not too much blame, for the poverty of the Panjab, the British Government and their system. The people too had a part to play.

Generally speaking it may be said, the poverty of the agriculturist was due to the absence of thrift in him, due to his inefficient implements and the lack of skilled direction. Panjab as a whole was poor because it was not organized on the lines that led to wealth. Social organization was almost entirely on religious lines, and unfortunately the religious bodies had not made economics their study. The Mohammedan view of

1. Darling M. L.,—P. P. P. D., 207.

2. Moral and Material Progress Report, 1901—1902, 152.

3. Rev. Admn. Report, 1900—1901.

4. Vaghan, Nash, 94.

5. (Original) Home, 1884. Public, B, Feb., 172—173.

interest¹ had not served to stimulate thrift, for the reason that, while refusing to accept, they had not hesitated to pay interest. The Hindu veneration for the cow imposed an insurmountable barrier to its exploitation as the most valuable animal known to man, and prevented the growth of a profitable animal husbandry².

Of the positive causes of the poverty of the Panjab, and particularly of its agriculturists, one was waste due to the high death rate, which removed from productive employment many who were of the best age, or who had gathered skill or experience. There was a waste in the defective agricultural system that resulted in men doing little or no work for a considerable portion of the year. There was a waste in the number of unnecessary middlemen engaged in distribution. There was a waste in the diversion of the best educated brains from productive into non-productive channels, such as the law. There was a waste in the relation between landlord and tenant, whereby the former provided no skilled guidance to the latter, supplied practically no capital to his enterprise and himself remained ignorant of what was best for the soil. A waste in the miserable system of rural credit. The drain of interest into the hand of usurers if devoted to improvement, could yield results of incalculable benefit. A waste of female labour, due primarily to custom and prejudice against their employment in the productive works. There was a vast waste from the depredation of insects and other animals, due to the religious objections to the destruction of harmful and destructive vermin. There was a waste in the use of infertile seed. A waste of manure. A waste from the weak sense of discipline. A waste from the fragmentation of holdings. There was a waste in the utilization of land for crops other than those which could prove most profitable. There was a waste in the uses to which various products were put³. There was a waste in the vast areas left to nature to wreak her capricious will upon. There was a waste in the curious system of occupation tribes or castes⁴.

1. They are by their religion, forbidden to take interest.

2. Calvert, W.W.P., 198—205.

3. Cotton seed, for instance, was fed to cattle in a crude form which was beyond the power of the animals to digest. From the seed there could be extracted the short fibres, which could be used to make felt or hats etc., the husk could next be crushed to separate the oil which is of value as cooking material, or as a basis for soaps, etc.; the resultant cake is a food which cattle can digest, or which would serve as an excellent manure.

4. Where a natural aptitude for work is suppressed because that work is the task of another caste. In one respect, it is probable that.....the system serves to maintain the stagnation of agriculture.

There was a waste in the fact that the higher castes were not themselves handworkers as they regarded the agriculture as work of the menials. There was a waste in the system of diet of the mass of the people¹. A waste in the heavy mortality amongst cattle.

In a country where mendicant excited more respect than an efficient artisan, where Government or God was expected to make good all the deficiencies of the people ; the main causes of the poverty, to sum up the argument, lay in its history. There was no saving inherited from generations gone by and there was no capital earning income for the present.

It is unnecessary to continue the catalogue further. In brief it may be said : everywhere there was a waste—waste of intelligence, of skill, of human labour, of capital and of energy². And no wonder, although the Panjab became more prosperous under the British rule than it was before it, it was yet a poor country.

More was possible than was done, and for this the blame lay upon both the GOVERNMENT as well as upon the PEOPLE.

1. In Denmark and Holland peasants would sell their better class butter and their fresh eggs to the big industrial centres of England and Germany, and would consume less valuable butter and eggs from Siberia. Many in Panjab scoffed at the idea of the potato becoming article of diet ; they were 125 years behind Europe in this respect.

2. Calvert, W.W.P., 205—217.

APPENDIX A

THE PANJABI CLASSIFICATION OF DISEASES AND BLIGHTS INCIDENT TO CROPS

Corn was lodged (hawa-zad) by strong wind, and was injured by want of rain, frost, hail, rats, jackals. The following were the names of insects, animals, and diseases which injured crops.

Suger-cane— Tela, huda, keeree, soka, pala, nisarna, moosh, kuchra, and kungeearree.

Cotton— Phirtee, tela, soka, pala (frost) and rats.

Makai— Keeree, toka, siyank, tupke.

Churee— Keeree, toka, and tela.

Rile— Jholur and rats.

Moth, Mung and Mash—Tela, toka, and bhutoth, or poachur.

Wheat, Barley and Goojee—Koongee, lakha, jholur, pataka, toka and kungeearree, and trel.

A few of the above may be specifically mentioned.

Koongee. A red rust. The 'koongee', probably was a blight that came upon young wheat (which was sown late) in the months of January and February after much rain.

Tela—was a dark coloured powder, saltish to the taste, which lay between the outer and inner coating of suger-cane and stopped its growth, the only remedy for it was to wash it off with water.

Huda—The drying up of leaves, and their becoming yellow in Sawan and Bhadon, without any apparent cause.

Nisarna—This was not a disease, but it was esteemed very bad for sugar-cane to blossom (nisarna) and such canes as blossom, being evil-omened, were taken up and given to whomsoever would have them.

Pala—Frost, when the north wind blew piercingly, it and the cold discoloured the cane, the taste of which became saltish, and the produce was inferior; the cane had also a disagreeable smell, and the top dried up.

Kuchra—In Jeth and Har, when the young cane was about 20 inches high, this insect ate the heart, and did very great injury to the crop, destroying as much as half perhaps.

Kungeearee—These were barren branches, growing out of the cane, which did not give juice, neither would cattle eat them ; if kungeearee prevailed much in a crop, it injured it to the extent of one-twentieth.

Keeree—An insect so called which ate the germ of young plants, particularly of sugar-cane.

Soka—was occasioned by want of water, the cane dried inside, became hollow, and threw out great quantities of "choee", or outer leaf.

Phirtee—In Jeth and Har, young cotton plants in maira soil, were liable to be injured by sand storms, which wounded them, and they dried up.

Toka—with a moth, which injured young shoots by nipping them off, as if with a pair of scissors.

Dhimak or white ants—If rains did not fall in Sawan and Bhadon, white ants did great damage : rain killed them.

Trel or dew—If heavy dew fell in Assuh and Kartak, the jowar crop was injured, the grain cracked and became dark and almost friable.

Bhutoth—This disease arose from the east wind blowing, which caused moth, mash and mung to shrivel up, and the pods did not fill.

Lishk or lightening—Should it lighten much when gram was about to form its flowers, it injured them, and the pods did not fill well, and an insect was also produced thereby.

Tupke—When the rains were very heavy, the stalks of Indian-corn shot up, and spindled, and yielded no grain.

Another drawback to good crops, particularly in districts below the hills, such as Gujrat, Sialkot, and Gurdaspur, were the frequency of hail-storms, which were prevalent in the months of Phagun and Chet. Sometimes they came in October.

Crops were preserved from birds by scare-crows, or 'daranas'. A blackened earthen pot stuck on a stick being a favourite method. In the case of all crops, such as sugar-cane etc., light platforms, called 'manas' were erected, on which a person was stationed day and night to frighten birds, by shouting and discharging clay pellets, etc. etc.

APPENDIX B

AREAS IRRIGATED BY SEVERAL CANALS

Names of Canals	Average of the three years ending 1999—1900	1900—01
Major Irrigation Works	Acres	Acres
Swat River Canal.....	145,474	166,031
Western Jumna } Imperial...	655,832	521,341
Canal } Native States branches...	52,937	45,784
Bari Doab Canal.....	794,201	861,301
Imperial...	857,574	721,851
Sirhind Canal (Native States branches...	382,897	240,076
Chenab Canal.....	1,040,309	1,830,525
Lower Sohag and Para (Inundation)...	76,473	86,163
Sidhnai Canal.....	98,760	169,780
Total Major Irrigation Works... } Imperial...	3,668,623	4,356,992
Works... } Native States...	435,834	285,860
Minor Irrigation Works		
Upper Sutlej Inundation Canals...	160,160	290,134
Lower Sutlej Inundation Canals...	146,234	221,721
Chenab Inundation Canals...	159,273	169,353
Indus Inundation Canals...	172,081	222,565
Shahpur Inundation } Imperial...	32,394	50,381
Canals } Provincial...	20,710	35,590
Muzaffargarh Inundation Canals...	285,872	316,451
Ghaggar Inundation } Imperial...	13,473	39,109
Canals } Bikaner State...	9,773	12,395
Total-Minor Irrigation Works... } Imperial...	969,487	1,309,714
Works... } Prov. ...	20,710	35,590
Works... } N. States	9,773	12,395
Total Major and Minor Irrigation Works	4,638,110	5,666,706
	20,710	35,590
	445,607	298,255
Grand Total...	5,104,427	6,000,551

APPENDIX C

GENERAL LIST OF JEWELS WORN IN THE PANJAB

Head Ornaments

- Men—
1. Sarpech—jighan, the jewelled aigrette worn in front of the turban.
 2. Kut biladar—An oval pendant worn over the fore-head.
 3. Kalgi—Plume in jewelled setting.
 4. Turah-i-marwarid—Tassels of pearls worn on the turban.
 5. Mukat or Mutakh—A head dress worn by Hindus at weddings etc.
- Women—
6. Sisphul, chaunk, or chotiphul—A round boss worn on the hair over the forehead.
 7. Phul—A boss like No. 6, only smooth, hemispherical, and set with jewels ; it is worn on the top of the head—one or two are worn at pleasure.
 8. Mauli—A long chain made of rows of pearls separated by jewelled studs, about 8 inches long hanging from the head on one side.
 9. Sirmang—A chain and pendant worn on the head by Hindus.
 10. Boda—An ornament of silk and silver plaited into the hair of children.

Ornaments worn on the forehead (by women only)

11. Damni, or Dauni—A fringe hanging over the forehead on either side of the face. Some of these are richly jewelled.
13. Do kutbi. varieties of No. 13.
15. Do sosani
16. Tika or kashka—Small ornament on the forehead (pendant).
17. Chand bina—A moon-shaped pendant.
18. Tawit—Small amulets worn on the head.
19. Jhumar—A tassel-shaped ornament or pendant mostly worn towards Delhi.
20. Guchhi marwarid—A cluster of pearls.
21. Bindli—Small tinsel forehead ornament.
22. Barwata—Tinsel stars worn over the eye-brows, (not to be confounded with Bhawata an armlet).

Ear Ornaments

- Men— 23. Bala—Very large thin rings worn by Khatris, Sikhs and Dogras. They have a pearl or so strung on the gold wire of which they are made.
24. Murki—Smaller ear-rings of the same shape.
25. Zanjiri—A chain worn with the bala to keep it up.
27. Dur (gold)—A small ear-ring with three gold studs on one side.
28. Birbali—A broad ear-ring with 3 studs.
29. Durichah—An ear-ring with pendant tassel.
- Women—30. Bali or goshwara—A set of rings worn all round the edge of the ear.
31. Bali bahaduri—It is a large pointed stud in the centre.
31. Karnphul, dhedu, and jhumka—A form of tassel-like ornaments, made with silver chains and little balls, fringe or silver chain work, etc. etc.
32. Pipal-watta, or pipal pata, like a murki, but has a drop or pendant to it ending in a fringe of little gold 'pipal' leaves.
33. Kantala—A similar ornament, has a stud besides the pendant
34. Bala khungridar—A heavy fringed ear-ring.
35. Khalil—Small ear-ring.
36. Jalil—Just the same, only that the central stud is jewelled.
37. Phumni—Silk and tinsel tassels.
38. Machh Machhlian—A small gold figure of a fish worn as an ear-ring.
39. Tid,-patang—A crescent-shaped jewelled pendant; along the lower edge of the crescent hanged a row of gold pipal leaves.
40. Tandaura, dedi—A huge star-shaped jewelled stud.
41. Morphunwar—A pendant of jewels being a rude imitation of the figures of a peacock.

Nose Ornaments

- Women—42. Nath—A large nose ring, one side of the ring being ornamented with a belt of jewels or a few pearls, and gold spangle ornaments etc. hung on to it.
43. Bulak—A small pendant either worn hung to the cartilage of the nose, or else strung on to a 'nath'.
44. Latkan—A sort of ornament of pendant put on to the thin gold ring called a nath, and hanging from it.

45. Morni—A small pendant for the above, shaped like the spread out tail of a peacock.
46. Loung—A small 'stud' let into the flesh of the nostril on one side, generally of gold, with a pearl or turquois on it.
47. Phuli—A small ring with a single emerald, or other stone of an oval shape, as a pendant.
48. Bohr—A jingling pendant of gold pipal leaves.
49. Machhlian be-sir—(headless fish).
50. Rekhan, made of gold and worn on the teeth—a stud of gold or silver fixed into the front teeth.

Necklaces and Neck Ornaments

- Men—
51. Mala—A necklace of large beads hanging down long and loose.
 52. Kanth-kanthi (worn by women also)—This fits rather close to the neck—the pendant may be omitted.
 53. Nam—An amulet, round or star-shaped, suspended from a twist of coloured silk thread fastened round the neck by tying at the back (see 'jugni' below).
 53. Tawiz—A square amulet, jewelled, or otherwise.
 54. Takhti—A flat square plate engraved with figures, etc.
 55. Hainkal—A chain of twisted silk, from which suspended by little golden loops, various coins, amulets, etc. all round.
 56. Zanjiri—A set of chains.
 57. Chandarmah—A large gold flat medal suspended by a single ring on a silk chain or cord.
- Women—
58. Chandanhar—A collar or necklace of great number of chains.
 59. Mala—Har—A plain necklace of pearls or gold beads etc. hanging down long.
 60. Champakali—A necklace like a collar with pendants; pendants or rays are either plain metal or set with stones.
 61. Jugni—A single jewelled pendant, hanging from a necklace of silk—like the 'Nam', only more elongated in shape.
 62. Mohran—A gold mohr or coin hung by a silk necklace.
 63. Haul dil—A sort of amulet of jade; not square as a tawiz always is, but cut in curves round the edge.
 64. Sankan Mohra—A small gold medal or large coin worn like No. 57.
 65. Hassi, or hass, like Torquea—A ring or collar of silver, thick in the middle and thin at either end.

66. Guluband—A jewelled collar.
67. Mohnmala—A long necklace made of large gold beads, with an interval of gold twisted thread between each head.
68. Atrdan—A square jewelled (or plain gold) pendant, attached to a silk chain, at the back is a small box like vinaigratte to contain 'atr' or perfume.
69. Kandi—A chain of silk carrying amulet cases.
70. Silwatta—An amulet case shaped like a small gold pillow or bolster, with two rings attached to suspend it.

Arm Ornaments

71. Bazuband—A broad belt-like ornament, generally mounted on silk and tied on the upper arm.
72. Nauratan, is the same, the ornament consisting of a band of nine gems set side by side, and tied by silk ties.
73. Tawiz—An amulet worn on the upper arm.
74. Anant—('The endless') A large thin but solid ring of gold or silver, used chiefly by Hindus.
75. Bhawatta—A square gold ornament, worn on the upper arm.

Bracelets

- Men—
76. Ponchi, worn on the wrist—A series of strings or small gold elongated beads.
 77. Kangan or kara or gokru—A bracelet of stiff metal, worn bent round the arm; when the edges are serrated it is called gokru.

- Women—
78. Ponchian kutbi.
 79. Ponchian Chaudenni (rats' teeth).
 80. Ponchian Ilachidana (grain of cardamoms).
 81. Kangan or kara zanana (as before).
 82. Banka, thick gold bracelets. Hindus wore them.
 83. Gokru (as before).
 84. Gajra—A flexible bracelet made of square gold studs mounted on a silk band.
 85. Churi of sorts, as ch: kanta kharat, ch: chauras, ch: kangani-dar—They were generally made of a flat ribbon of gold or silver, bent round.
 86. Bain, or long silver sleeve or tube worn on both arms, like a lot of churis fastened together.
 87. Band—An armlet, broad and heavy.

88. Jhankangan—small hollow 'karas' with grains introduced into the hollow to rattle.

Finger Rings

89. Angushtri—A ring set with stones called also 'mundri' (Hindi) or Anguthi.
90. Challa—Large challas are worn on the toe also ; The challa is a quite plain hoop or whole 'hoop' ring (with or without stones) being gold or silver, but the same all round.
91. Angushtana, angutha—A big ring with a broad face, worn on the great toe.
92. Khari Panjanga (a set of finger rings of ordinary shape).
93. Shahalmi or khari—a ring of long oval shape.
94. Birhamgand—a broad ring.

Anklets Etc.

95. Pahzeb—Various ankle ornaments made with chain pendants of silver, which clink together when the wearer walks.
96. Chanjar—A large hollow ring, which rattles when the wearer walks.
97. Karian—pair or khalkhal—Like karas, worn on the ankles.
98. Khungru—A ring or ankle of long ornamental beads of silver, worn on the feet.
99. Zanjiri—A set of chains with a broad clasp—called also tora.
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APPENDIX D

GOLD PRICE OF SILVER, GOLD VALUE OF RUPEE, GOLD PRICES OF WHEAT

Year	Price of silver in London per standard ounce		Average rate of exchange in pence per rupee	Gold price of wheat in Panjab in shillings per quarter	Average price in London of British wh- eat per qua- ter in shi- lings.
	In pence	In multi- ples of 2½ d.			
1873	59	23·6	22·4	20·2	58·7
1874	58	23·2	22·2	19·2	55·7
1875	57	22·8	21·6	17·4	45·7
1876	53	21·2	20·5	15·8	46·2
1877	55	22·0	20·8	17·9	56·8
1878	53	21·2	19·8	22·6	46·4
1879	51	20·4	20·0	31·0	43·8
1880	52	20·8	20·0	27·4	44·3
1881	52	20·8	19·9	23·0	45·3
1882	52	20·8	19·5	18·3	45·1
1883	51	20·0	19·5	17·6	41·6
1884	51	20·4	19·3	16·2	35·3
1885	49	19·6	18·3	14·8	32·8
1886	45	18·0	17·4	18·0	31·3
1887	45	18·0	16·9	23·2	32·4
1888	43	17·2	16·4	21·2	31·7
1889	43	17·2	16·6	17·0	29·7
1890	48	19·2	18·1	20·0	31·8
1891	45	18·0	16·7	22·5	36·8
1892	40	16·0	15·0	22·2	31·2
1893	36	14·4	14·5	17·8	26·3
1894	29	11·6	13·1	10·8	23·3
1895	30	12·0	13·6	14·3	22·8
1896	31	12·4	14·5	23·0	26·0
1897	28	11·2	15·4	29·6	30·0
1898	27	10·8	16·0	19·7	34·6
1899	27	10·8	16·1	20·4	25·8
1900	28	11·2	16·0	26·8	26·9
1901	28	11·2	16·0	21·2	26·7

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